

FIFTY-SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY;
WITH THE
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
AND OF THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS,
January 20 and 21, 1874.

WASHINGTON CITY:
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.
1874.

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

President.

1853. HON. JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

Vice Presidents.

1833. Moses Allen, Esq., New York.	1854. Hon. Joseph B. Crockett, California.
1838. Hon. Henry A. Foster, New York.	1859. Hon. Henry M. Schieffelin, N. Y.
1838. Robert Campbell, Esq., Georgia.	1861. Rev. John Maclean, D. D., LL.D., N. J.
1838. Hon. James Garland, Virginia.	1861. Hon. Ichabod Goodwin, N. H.
1840. Hon. Willard Hall, Delaware.	1861. Hon. William E. Dodge, New York.
1841. Thomas R. Hazard, Esq., R. I.	1862. Robert H. Ives, Esq., Rhode Island.
1843. Hon. Lucius Q. C. Elmer, N. J.	1862. Rev. Thomas DeWitt, D. D., N. Y.
1845. Hon. Joseph R. Underwood, Ky.	1866. Hon. James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin.
1848. Hon. Thomas W. Williams, Conn.	1867. Samuel A. Crozer, Esq., Pennsylvania.
1849. Rev. Lovick Pierce, D. D., Georgia.	1869. Hon. William C. Alexander, N. J.
1851. Rev. Robert Ryland, D. D., Ky.	1869. Hon. Fred. T. Frelinghuysen, N. J.
1851. Hon. Frederick P. Stanton, D. C.	1869. Rev. S. Irenæus Prime, D. D., N. Y.
1853. Hon. Horatio Seymour, New York.	1869. Rev. Benj. I. Haight, D. D., LL.D., N. Y.
1853. Rev. Howard Maicom, D. D., Penn.	1869. James B. Hosmer, Esq., Conn.
1853. Rev. John P. Durbin, D. D., N. Y.	1870. Robert Arthington, Esq., England.
1853. Edward McGehee, Esq., Mississippi.	1871. Hon. Dudley S. Gregory, N. J.
1854. Rev. Edmund S. Janes, D. D., N. Y.	1872. Rt. Rev. John Johns, D. D., Virginia.
1854. Rev. Matthew Simpson, D. D., Penn.	1872. Rev. Edward P. Humphrey, D. D., Ky.
1854. Rev. Levi Scott, D. D., Delaware.	1872. Harvey Lindsly, M. D., D. C.
1854. Rev. Rob't Paine, D. D., Mississippi.	1873. Hon. Charles S. Olden, New Jersey.
1854. Rev. Thomas A. Morris, D. D., Ohio.	1874. Rev. Randolph S. Foster, D. D., Ohio.
1854. Rev. Edward R. Ames, D. D., Md.	1874. Rt. Rev. Wm. B. Stevens, D. D., Pa.
1854. Rev. James C. Finley, Illinois.	1874. Eli K. Price, Esq., Pennsylvania.
1854. Hon. John F. Darby, Missouri.	1874. Rt. Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, D. D., O.
1854. Rev. Nathan L. Rice, D. D., Missouri.	1874. Theodore L. Mascu, M. D., N. Y.

The figures before each name indicate the year of first election.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

LIFE DIRECTORS.

1840. HON. THOMAS W. WILLIAMS.....Conn.	1858. Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, D. D.....Mass.
1840. THOMAS R. HAZARD, Esq.....R. I.	1864. Dr. ALEXANDER GUY.....Ohio.
1840. Rev. LEONARD BACON, D. D.....Conn.	1868. EDWARD COLES, Esq.....Pa.
1841. FRANCIS GRIFFIN, Esq.....Miss.	1869. CHAUNCEY ROSE, Esq.....Ind.
1845. Rev. JOHN B. PINNEY, LL.D.....N. Y.	1869. HENRY ROSE, Esq.....N. Y.
1846. HERMAN CAMI, Esq.....N. Y.	1869. Rev. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D. D.....Ind.
1851. Rev. JOHN MACLEAN, D. D., LL.D.....N. J.	1869. JOSEPH HENRY, LL.D.....D. C.
1852. JAMES HALL, M. D.....Md.	1869. CHARLES H. NICHOLS, M. D.....D. C.
1852. HON. MILLARD FILLMORE.....N. Y.	1869. Rev. BENJ. I. HAIGHT, D.D., LL.D., N. Y.
1853. ALEXANDER DUNCAN, Esq.....R. I.	1869. Rev. S. IRENEUS PRIME, D. D.....N. Y.
1853. HON. ALBERT FEARING.....Mass.	1870. DANIEL PRICE, Esq.....N. J.
1855. GEORGE LAW, Esq.....N. Y.	1871. Rev. WILLIAM H. STEELE, D. D.....N. J.
1858. Dr. CHARLES B. NEW.....Miss.	1871. Rev. HENRY C. POTTER, D. D.....N. Y.
1858. Rev. JOHN ORCUTT, D. D.....N. Y.	1873. Rev. GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D.....N. Y.

DELEGATES APPOINTED BY AUXILIARY SOCIETIES FOR 1874.

VERMONT COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Hon. Charles W. Willard, Hon. Frederick Woodbridge, Rev. John K. Converse.

CONNECTICUT COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Rev. Daniel W. Lathrop, D. D., Henry A. Warner, Esq.

MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Hon. Isaac Davis, Hon. G. Washington Warren, Henry Lyon, M. D., Rev. John W. Chickering, D. D.

NEW YORK COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Rev. Benj. I. Haught, D. D., LL.D., Rev. S. Ireneus Prime, D. D., Rev. Henry C. Potter, D. D., Rev. George W. Samson, D. D., Rev. William F. Morgan, D. D., Rev. Samuel D. Alexander, D. D., Rev. John N. McLeod, D. D., Rev. T. Ralston Smith, D. D., Rev. David Cole, D. D., Almon Merwin, Esq., Smith Sheldon, Esq., Theodore L. Mason, M. D., Z. Stiles Ely, Esq., Henry Day, Esq., William Dennistoun, Esq., Henry L. Young, Esq., William C. Foote, Esq., Samuel M. Buckingham, Esq., Alfred L. Taylor, Esq., Rev. G. Henry Mandeville, D. D.

NEW JERSEY COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Rev. William J. R. Taylor, D. D.

PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Rev. Samuel E. Appleton.

FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

PRESENTED JANUARY 20, 1874.

OBITUARY.

It becomes the painful duty of THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, at the commencement of its Fifty-seventh Annual Report, to offer its tribute of sorrow and affection to the memory of the late Rev. WILLIAM McLAIN, D. D., who departed this life at his residence in this city, on the 13th of February, in the full triumphs of the Christian faith.

Dr. McLain was born in Champaign county, Ohio, August 8, 1806; graduated at Miami University in 1831; studied theology at Andover and New Haven; was installed as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., in January, 1837, and resigned on account of declining health, June 9, 1840. He performed an acceptable agency service for this Society in August, 1839, and again in the following summer, in the State of Virginia. He was appointed "Clerk of the Executive Committee," December 18, 1840. Thus began those very valuable labors for the cause which he zealously and faithfully performed to within a few days of his death.

Dr. McLain was elected Treasurer, January 19, 1843, and Financial Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, January 17, 1858, the duties of which he discharged with great ability. He devised and executed measures for raising funds, chartered and equipped vessels, provided for and dispatched thousands of

Obituary.

emigrants, and managed our affairs in Liberia. In a word, for thirty-two years, no one did more than he in guiding the counsels, defending the principles, and conducting the operations of the Society.

To the members of the Executive Committee, the Board of Directors, and to the Executive officers of the Society, the decrease of Dr. McLain was a personal and deeply-felt bereavement, severing not only official relations, but warm ties of individual affection. To the cause at large, it is a loss which seems almost irreparable. His name will be held in lasting remembrance.

Since the last Report was presented, intelligence has been received of the death of five Vice Presidents of the Society.

The first was the Rt. Rev. CHARLES P. McILVAINE, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of the P. Episcopal Church in Ohio, whose admirable symmetry of character, powerful eloquence, and high administrative ability, won for him the confidence and love of all who knew him. The Bishop was personally acquainted with the Rev. Robert Finley, D. D., and while rector of Christ Church, Georgetown, D. C., from 1820 to 1825, was associated with Bushrod Washington, Elias B. Caldwell, Charles Fenton Mercer, Francis Scott Key, and other illustrious founders and patrons of the Society, and was ever himself one of its warmest friends and supporters. He presided for many years over the Ohio Auxiliary, and had been a Vice President of this Society since 1845.

Another Vice President was RICHARD HOFF, Esq., of Georgia, elected in 1857. Fifty of the emigrants sent in 1854, were liberated by him, and he gave us three thousand dollars toward the expenses of their passage and establishment in Liberia. He also distributed nearly a like amount among them at their

Obituary.

embarkation. Though at a ripe age, his death will be mourned by thousands who held him in affectionate regard.

Among men of all nations and all callings, wherever the name of GERARD RALSTON, Esq., is known, it will be remembered and cherished as the name of "one who loved his fellow-man." Mr. Ralston's affection for this cause dated back to the time when Mills and Burgess went to the Coast of Africa to select a locality for the establishment of a negro nationality. He was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, which was organized in 1826, was its first Treasurer, and not only continued active in its management while in Philadelphia, but he contributed frequently and liberally to its treasury. He was elected a Vice President of this Society in 1840. Mr. Ralston went to England over a third of a century ago as the representative of the mercantile firm of which he was then a member, and though he never returned to the land of his birth, he constantly evinced a feeling of sympathy and love for it and its citizens, many of whom were welcomed and hospitably entertained by him in London. As Consul-General of Liberia, in Europe, for the past twenty-five years, he rendered services, without compensation, which were valuable and important; including the negotiation of nearly if not all the treaties recognizing its independence. Kind in spirit, gentle in manner, after an active and useful life of seventy-five years, he rests from his labors and his memory is blessed.

Another friend of African Colonization, whose decease we mourn, is the Rev. JOHN EARLY, D. D., Bishop of the Methodist E. Church, South, who at the early age of twenty, began his ministerial labors among the slave population in his native county—Bedford—Virginia, and was ever devoted to the reli-

Finances.

gious interests of the colored race. He was elected a Vice President of this Society in 1849.

HON. PETER D. VROOM, of New Jersey, was a long-trying helper in every good cause. He held several important and prominent public stations at home and abroad, in all which he served with pre-eminent ability and elevation of character. He was elected a Vice President of this Society in 1838, yet he had been, for many years, its firm friend, aiding it by the advocacy of its principles and by gifts for its promotion. Few men have manifested a more abiding interest in its welfare, or held in higher appreciation the work it was doing both for this continent and for Africa.

FINANCES.

The balance in the treasury, January 1, 1873 was.....	\$586 31
The receipts for the succeeding twelve months have been—	
From donations.....	15,358 75
From legacies.....	14,557 47
From other sources.....	5,419 49
	<hr/>
Making the resources of the year.....	\$35,922 02
Of this sum there has been paid, as follows:	
For passage and support of emigrants.....	\$9,215 16
For borrowed money returned.....	11,000 00
For other objects.....	15,473 37
	<hr/>
	35,688 53
	<hr/>
Leaving a balance in the treasury, January 1, 1874..	\$233 49
	<hr/>

From this statement it appears that our entire receipts during the year 1873 exceed those of the previous year by nearly \$2,000; and that the receipts from donations exceed those of the previous year by \$4,754.96. This is gratifying and encouraging, when we take into view the fact that it has been ac-

Expedition.

complished against special adverse influences occasioned by the financial panic, and with a reduction of agency expenses.

OFFICERS.

Rev. John K. Converse has continued his indefatigable labors for the Society in the Northern New England States.

Rev. D. C. Haynes, after three years' service as District Secretary for Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, resigned his position, which took effect in August.

Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, D. D., entered upon his duties November 1, as District Secretary for the States west of the Alleghanies and south of the Potomac, with headquarters at Cincinnati. His large experience in public life, added to other rare gifts and qualifications, will, it is hoped, enable him to impress the people of his immense district with the claims of this Society upon their sympathies and support.

The duties of Treasurer and Financial Secretary were, soon after the death of Rev. Dr. McLain, added to those of the Corresponding Secretary, by whom they have since been performed.

EXPEDITION.

Our customary fall expedition was by the barque "Jasper," which sailed from New York on Friday, November 28, with seventy-three emigrants, well provided for on the voyage and for six months after their arrival. They were only a fraction of the applicants for settlement in Liberia; but they were quite as many as we had the means at command to provide for, in the existing monetary condition of the country.

Six of the emigrants were from Jacksonville, Florida, to settle at Arthington; thirty-three were from Strawberry Plains, Tenn., to locate at Warnersville, Junk river; and thirty-

Expedition.

four were from Hawkinsville, Georgia, for Brewerville. They were conveyed to the port of embarkation in two companies: one of thirty-three persons, by railroad and the steamer "Isaac Bell," from Norfolk; and the other, of forty persons, by railroad and the steamer "San Jacinto," from Savannah. They consisted principally of families, a goodly number of whom went to join relatives and acquaintances in that Republic, and from whom they had received letters inviting them to come. With but few exceptions, they had not reached middle life: seven being under two years old, twenty-five were two and not twelve years of age, and forty-one were twelve years old and upwards. Fifteen of the adult males were farmers. Twenty-one were reported as communicants in evangelical churches, two of whom were ministers of the Gospel.

We sent at the same time nearly five hundred dollars' worth of school-books and supplies for our own and other schools; also Arabic and English Bibles and Testaments, valued at about one hundred and seventy-five dollars, presented by the the American Bible Society; and fifty dollars worth of publications of an elementary character, appropriated by the American Sunday-School Union.

The "Jasper" also took a coffee huller, which was patented and shipped by Messrs. Edward S. Morris and T. T. Woodruff, of Philadelphia, Pa., and an engine of fifteen horse-power to run it. This machine, it is stated, can clean, ready for use, a bushel of coffee every minute. Its successful operation promises to open a new era in the history of the young Republic. As an article of commerce, the "Liberia-Mocha" coffee, by reason of its quality being equal if not superior to any, is likely to become one of the most valuable products of that country.

Applications.

Emigration to Liberia every year under the auspices of this Society has been uninterrupted for the last fifty-three years. Those sent in 1873 make the number colonized since the war to be three thousand and sixty, and a total from the beginning of fifteen thousand and forty-eight; exclusive of five thousand seven hundred and twenty-two recaptured Africans, which we induced and enabled the Government of the United States to settle in Liberia, making a grand total of twenty thousand seven hundred and seventy persons to whom the Society has given homes in Africa.

APPLICATIONS.

The past year has again afforded evidence that the disposition among the people of color to emigrate to Liberia is increasing. In the course of a single month the applications for passage comprised between five and six hundred persons. When our expedition left in November, there were enrolled upwards of three thousand voluntary and unsolicited applicants for settlement, some of whom are now pressing their requests and are anxious to know if they can go, in order to guard against making arrangements which may prevent their going at all.

With an earnest desire to benefit themselves, and to confer a blessing upon their race in Africa, as their letters show many seek a home in Liberia, where they can at once become land-owners, and find the avenues of emolument and honor all open to the deserving and aspiring, without let or hindrance.

ARTHRINGTON.

The barque "Jasper," mentioned in our last Report to have sailed with one hundred and fifty emigrants, arrived at Monrovia January 1, after a pleasant passage of forty days, "all

Arthington.

well." Letters to a recent date assure us that they were generally more than satisfied with the change, and that they were occupying their own houses and cultivating their own lands.

As a goodly number of the people recently sent have located at the new interior settlement of Arthington, the following account of a visit to it in August by the editor of the "New Era," published at Monrovia, cannot but be gratifying to their well-wishers and to the friends of Africa:

"Arthington is situated in a hilly and uneven section of country, about four miles northwest of Millsburg, and about two miles northward and interiorward from the St. Paul's river. The first settlers landed in December, 1869, and removed to the then forest in March, 1870. These immigrants were, as is generally the case since the war, quite poor, but an intelligent, active, industrious, and enterprising set of men. They immediately went to work, and have done as well as any people could do with small means in similar circumstances. They cut down the forest, cleared the bush, and soon a pleasant little village rose upon the hills, with school-house and church, as the germs of advancing civilization.

"We were happily disappointed in seeing these people at their homes. We found they had good crops of bread-stuff well planted, but not matured. They are not known to have brought to the country any capital except a determination to work with willing hearts and willing hands, and thus establish for themselves a name and a character. In the short time they have been there they have cut down, cleared up and planted, until there is not a lot to be seen in town not under cultivation. For example, the leader, Mr. Alonzo Hoggard, has had no aid but four small sons, and with them alone he has planted out

Arthington.

five thousand coffee trees, and is cultivating one-and-a-half acres in potatoes, two acres in cassava, four acres in rice, one-half acre in eddoes, besides many garden vegetables. Mr. Solomon York, another of that company, has nearly three thousand coffee trees growing, many bearing, and a large supply of cassavas, eddoes, and other bread-stuff. Mr. Rennels has also a large lot of coffee growing, some acres of sugar cane, some ginger, and his wife offers to sell a few barrels of Indian corn, the result of her own industry. There are many others doing well, whose farms we had not time to visit.

"We went out one mile beyond to see the company of which Mr. Jefferson Bracewell was the leader. He commenced cutting down the bush in March, 1872, and, with the assistance of his seven sons, he has cleared up more than thirty acres of land, planted eleven hundred coffee trees, made his large crops of rice, potatoes, and eddoes, so as to supply his own family; imported a sugar-mill, and manufactured his own sugar and syrup last season. He has made a large coffee nursery, and is now tanning some of the best leather used in this country. His wife and daughter spin and weave all the cloth that he and those boys wear, and he has built with his own hands his dwelling-house, store-house, weaving and loom-house for his wife, and a house for tanning. Well done, Bracewell! May Liberia obtain many more such braces.

"Mr. Solomon Hill and Mr. June Moore, of the same company, have each planted seven hundred coffee trees, a large coffee nursery, and have such a supply of potatoes, cassavas, and eddoes, that they have bought no bread-stuff since they came to the country. Mr. Hill has already sold from his crop fifty kroos of clean rice."

Agriculture and Trade.

AGRICULTURE AND TRADE.

Intelligence from Liberia indicate growth and prosperity, Agriculture is steadily on the increase. "The Republican" announces that "there will be a proportional fair increase of the production of coffee over that of last year. Sugar making is also going on encouragingly. The steam mills on the St. Paul's river of Sharp, Dunbar & Decoursey, Anderson, Washington, Roe, and Cooper, besides the full number of hand and cattle power mills, are doing a good business."

The same paper observes as follows:—"The present is what may be termed a splendid palm-oil season. Our coasting craft are doing a full business. Mr. Sherman (Sherman & Dinery) returned a few days ago in their schooner "Petronilla," with thirty thousand gallons of oil and a quantity of palm-kernels. Messrs. McGill's schooner, under Mr. William Francis Brown, supercargo, has arrived with twenty-two thousand gallons of oil. Mr. Henry Cooper recently paid a visit to the Coast in furtherance of his business. His three coasters, 'Dodo,' 'Samuel Ash,' and 'Apprentice Boy,' have come up with full loads. Mr. Brougham had a boat brought out to him a few days ago. It is about thirteen tons. Three men sailed her from Hamburg. Messrs. McGill's had brought out to them on the steamer 'Benin,' from Liverpool, a coasting craft of fifteen tons. The barque 'Thomas Pope,' to sail for New York to-day, has on board eighty tons of camwood, seven thousand gallons of palm-oil, forty thousand pounds of Liberia coffee, three hundred pounds of ivory, two hundred casks or about one hundred and ten thousand pounds of sugar, also thirty passengers. During the month of April, Captain Marschalk shipped sixteen thousand gallons of palm-oil, one thousand nine hundred bushels of palm-kernels, and other African produce."

Steam Communication.

President Roberts, in his last annual message, confirms this information. He says: "The trade and mercantile marine of the Republic have increased and are still increasing in a ratio scarcely credible. Enterprising merchants are opening new avenues of trade and are extending their operations, both coastwise and interior, with encouraging prospects of continued success."

Application has been made to the Liberian authorities for permission to establish a telegraph station at Cape Palmas, the cable coming from St. Vincent Island (Cape Verde) on the one side, and from Benguela (South Africa) on the other. The said cable is to extend from St. Vincent to Lisbon, (Portugal,) and thence to New York. This, with the cable also from Brazil to St. Vincent, will place Liberia in direct telegraphic communication with the United States, Europe, South America, and South Africa. The work is begun already by an English company.

STEAM COMMUNICATION.

The commerce of West Africa, constantly augmenting in extent and value, is mostly carried on by steamers owned and controlled by English capitalists and merchants. Fifteen years ago the mails by steam between England and Liberia were monthly; several years later they were increased to semi-monthly; now five steamers every month render this valuable service from Liverpool.

A grand opening is presented for American capital and activity, by the establishment of direct and regular steam communication from New York to Monrovia and Cape Palmas, and along the Coast to the Equator. In view of the rapid development of the resources of that extensive and populous region, and the growing demand for the products of American mechan-

Interior Liberia.

ical industries, an enlightened commercial policy dictates every encouragement to such enterprise, and no time should be lost in inaugurating this measure to secure it.

Captain R. W. Shufeldt, in his dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy, under date of "U. S. Steamer Plymouth, Monrovia, March 26, 1873," says: "Perhaps nothing would add more to the strength and well-being of this Americo-African Republic than the establishment of steam communication between it and the mother country. A connection thus sustained would have an important bearing upon our own political and commercial necessities, and create the one thing needful to the progress of this country; for I am fully convinced that immigration, with a moderate amount of capital, is all that is now required to place Liberia upon a permanent footing, and to insure an increasing prosperity.

"This young nation, weak by virtue of its birth and inheritance, is essentially an American outpost upon the confines of barbarism, and it deserves, on this account, the fostering care of the American people. After an interval of twenty-six years since I first visited Monrovia, I do not find as much progress as I had hoped for; but there are no evidences of retrogression, and this is in itself proof that this people had secured too firm a foothold upon African soil ever to be expelled. The idea of Christian civilization is too firmly planted here to be uprooted."

INTERIOR LIBERIA.

The subject of a comprehensive interior policy is engaging the earnest attention of the authorities and leading men of Liberia, and a growing determination is apparent to avail themselves of the vast resources of trade and population on the East. The opening of highways inward from the Coast has

Interior Liberia.

been intelligently agitated, for present absolute wants as well as for future probable contingencies. That entire region is represented to be of the highest possible interest. Its healthfulness, its productiveness, the facility with which good roads and railways may be constructed, the large, cultivated and active Mahomedan tribes, having schools, and books, and mosques, all combine to make it one of the most important portions of the West African Continent: presenting a wide and inviting field for the enterprise of the merchant, the settler and the missionary.

Reports from Liberia mention accessions to the membership of different churches. These reports were accompanied by urgent calls from several of the neighboring kings and headmen to come among them and their people with schools and the Gospel. Gilla Somer, king of the Golab tribe, is stated to have recently visited Monrovia, to obtain, as he said, "a God-man who will learn my people the religion of Jesus Christ." He offered to give three thousand acres of land, and more, if desired, for the use of schools and missions in his country.

Liberian Christians are not indifferent to these openings, and they declare themselves anxious, if the means were within their power, to press inland with the arts of civilized life and the ordinances of religion. They appeal to their brethren in the United States to help them, and there is a general feeling that the colored people of this country will not be slow to show their interest in the benighted population of the land of their ancestors.

The efforts of Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Samuel Baker in Zanzibar, Eastern Africa, and into the interior, for the suppression of the slave-trade, have been eminently cheering.

Explorations are progressing into various portions of the

Education in Liberia.

Continent, and it will not much longer be unknown. Those of the past few years reveal immense tracts of rich and attractive territory, interspersed by lakes and rivers, designed by Providence, it is believed, as seats of a future high civilization.

EDUCATION IN LIBERIA.

The semi-annual reports to June 30th last, of the teachers of the two schools at Arthington and that at Brewerville, supported by this Society from the income of the Graham legacy, show them to have had an average daily attendance of eighty-six scholars, composed mostly of quite young persons of both sexes, and the studies to have been spelling, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, and geography, in which encouraging progress was made.

Of the state of education in Liberia, the late Report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society gives the following elaborate account:

“All the missions have schools. Each mission reports its schools to its own Missionary Board. But there is no arrangement by which reports of all the schools are collected at any one centre; nor do they all cover the same period of time. According to the latest information that has reached us, they are as follows:

Missions.	Schools.	Scholars.
Protestant Episcopal.....	20	443
Methodist Episcopal.....	15	450
Baptist.....	6	42
Southern Baptist.....	7	68
Presbyterian.....	3	41
Lutheran.....	1	39
	<hr/> 52	<hr/> 1083

Education in Liberia.

"Of these 52 schools, however, 12 report no number of scholars, though some are said to be "well attended." If we suppose them to average 20 each, the whole number will be 1,323. A few private schools may raise the whole number to 1,500.

"To give each child of the civilized population of Liberia four years at school, supposing that population to be 20,000, would probably require an habitual attendance of about 1,600. The number of scholars reported is nearly large enough for that purpose, and authorizes the conclusion that Americo-Liberian children generally have some opportunity for primary school education. But generally the reports do not give the age or sex of the scholars, the constancy of their attendance, the studies pursued, or the progress made.

"There has been a system of common schools in the statute-book of Liberia almost from its first settlement, and several beginnings have been made of putting it in operation. But, from a complication of reasons which it would be difficult to explain so as to do justice to all parties, its operation has never been universal, and it has been often wholly interrupted, and the work of primary education has gone almost wholly into the hands of the missions. And as these missions are wholly independent of each other, each has its own system, and there is no one system of common schools for the whole Republic except that in the statute-book, which is not in operation.

"To these remarks it is proper to add the following passage from the last annual message of President Roberts:

"In general, our native population is making encouraging advances, under the fostering operations of our civil and religious institutions; and I shall hope that the Legislature will find it within the scope of their pecuniary ability to continue, if not increase, the means of facilitating this desirable work.

Education in Liberia.

Many of the chiefs and headmen of the tribes within our limits are now earnestly importuning the Government to establish schools in their districts, for the instruction of their children in the principles of Christianity, in the ordinary branches of literature, and in the arts of civilized life.

“In regard to the subject of general education in Liberia, I may only remark, that it is still of paramount importance. And it is a matter of deep regret that, even with the generous assistance of missionary societies in the United States, we are not able to supply the increasing demands for educational facilities in many of our scattered Americo-Liberian settlements. Some of these are wholly without regular schools, and others have schools of such low grade as to scarcely deserve the name of schools. Nothing can be more desirable than that the youth of our country, the whole country, should have placed within their reach the means of acquiring that degree of mental training necessary to make them useful members of society; and also, as far as practicable, to lay such a foundation as will enable them to reach readily those attainments required for the higher duties of life. In this view we have not only to deplore the need of funds to maintain schools, but also the need of efficient teachers to conduct them. No one can doubt that both the Church and the State are now suffering for the want of additional intelligence to aid in advancing the civil and religious institutions of the country. In this connection I have great pleasure in communicating to the Legislature, that that distinguished philanthropist and noble friend of Liberia, Hon. H. M. Schieffelin, who has always felt the liveliest interest in the educational advancement of the Republic, has just created a foundation from which the Government may expect to receive three hundred dollars per annum for

Education in Liberia.

the use of common schools. We thank him and the gentlemen who are co-operating with him in this kindness.

“And I may also add here, that we have great cause for thankfulness that a gracious Providence put it into the hearts of our friends in the United States—especially in Massachusetts, the cradle of American literature and science—to establish Liberia College. It stands among us as a beacon light; an important and efficient agency in dispelling the deep gloom which for so many weary centuries has enveloped the minds of the people of this degraded Continent. It is an incalculable blessing to Liberia and to Africa; it has already prepared a goodly number of young men for usefulness, many of whom are now rendering valuable service as teachers and otherwise in various parts of the Republic. I shall hope that American philanthropy will continue to cherish an enterprise so eminently worthy of Christian sympathy, and will amply endow it for the successful prosecution of the work it is designed to accomplish.”

“By this time President Roberts knows that an important step has been taken towards the fulfillment of his hope that the College will be endowed. In February last the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia received a donation of \$20,000, to be invested as a permanent fund, the income of which is to be expended in the support of that College. The money was immediately invested, safely and profitably.

“This generous donation ought to attract attention, and have influence as an example. It was not made in ignorance, or without consideration. The donor, the Hon. Albert Fearing, is well known as a man before whom the claims of the numerous benevolent enterprises of the day are brought, so that he is obliged to consider them and judge of their comparative

Our Mission.

merits. His duties as a member of the Board of Trustees, from its organization in 1850, and its President since 1855, have given him a thorough knowledge of the condition, wants and prospective usefulness of Liberia College. He gave \$5,000 in 1864 as a permanent fund for its library, and has given other sums at other times, so that the whole amount of his benefactions is about \$30,000 in cash, besides a large amount of personal labor and valuable time. The testimony of such a donation, from such a source, ought to have a convincing and persuasive influence on those who have wealth which they wish to use for the benefit of mankind.

“Though the management and support of Liberia College is no part of the work of this Society, but of the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia, who have founded and sustained it, yet we have an interest in its success, which authorizes and impels us to notice whatever concerns it. The Republic which this Society is building up indispensably needs the College, that it may be furnished with intelligent citizens to fill the various departments of public life, and especially to carry the light of Christian civilization to its six hundred thousand aboriginal inhabitants, and to the uncounted millions who sit in darkness beyond them. We, therefore, thankfully record every addition to its means of permanency and usefulness.”

OUR MISSION.

The facts given in this review, as well as the history of African Colonization from the beginning, demonstrate the incalculable importance and utility of our work as a Society. It was never so important, so necessary, and so promising as now. The extinction of slavery, so far from lessening our obligations to Africa and the colored people, has only enlarged and intensi-

Our Mission.

fied them. The great purpose of our organization has ever been the establishment of a civilized and Christian nation on the West Coast of Africa, to which, *if they found it to be to their interest*, the colored people of the United States might emigrate, but which, whether they emigrated to it or not in numbers materially affecting their race here, would be the most powerful agency that man could devise for the civilization and Christianization of Africa. If, while slavery existed, masters manumitted their slaves to remove them to Liberia, to that extent Colonization promoted freedom. Then, however, as now, the great object was the establishment of such a nation in Africa as to-day exists feebly but honorably in Liberia. To increase its numbers, to enlarge its usefulness, to enable it to work out great and good results, is the grand aim of the American Colonization Society.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Dr.

Receipts and Disbursements of the American Colonization Society, for the year 1873.

Cr.

Received Donations	\$15,358 75	Paid Passage and support of Emigrants . . .	\$9,215 16
" Legacies	14,557 47	" Interest on Loans	1,168 49
" Interest on Investments	2,064 93	" For Education in Liberia	480 00
" Investments realized	250 00	" Taxes, Insurance and Repairs of Colonization	
" Rents of Colonization Building	2,316 76	Building	935 51
" Subscriptions to "The African Repository"		" Paper and Printing "The African Repository"	
.	212 42	1,601 25
" For Education in Liberia	490 50	" Salaries of Secretaries, Printing Report and	
" Returns from Liberia	84 88	Addresses, Stationery, Postages, &c.	4,856 57
		" Salaries of Agents, Travelling Expenses,	
		Expenses of Auxiliary Societies, &c.	6,431 55
Receipts	35,335 71	" Borrowed money	11,000 00
Balance on hand, January 1, 1873	586 31		
		Disbursements	35,688 53
		Balance in Treasury, January 1, 1874	233 49
Total	\$35,922 02	Total	\$35,922 02

The Committee on Accounts have compared the charges on the Books with the vouchers for the year 1873, and find the same correct, with a balance of \$233 49.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 20, 1874.

ALMON MERWIN,
J. W. CHICKERING, } Committee.
JOSEPH HENRY,

TREASURER'S REPORT.

MINUTES

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 20, 1874.*

The Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society was held this evening, commencing at 7½ o'clock, in the First Baptist Church, Thirteenth street, near G; the President, Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, in the chair.

The Divine blessing was invoked by the Rev. James H. Cuthbert, D. D., Pastor of the Church.

Brief introductory remarks were made by the President of the Society; and the Fifty-seventh Annual Report of the Society was presented by the Corresponding Secretary, who also read extracts therefrom.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters from the Rt. Rev. William B. Stevens, D. D., Philadelphia, December 11; and from Hon. Reverdy Johnson, Baltimore, December 26, 1873, expressing regret that paramount duties and prior engagements would prevent them from addressing the Society at this time, and of their good wishes for its progress and success.

Addresses were delivered by the Rev. George W. Samson, D. D.,* of New York; Rev. William J. R. Taylor, D. D.,† of Newark, N. J.; Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, D. D.,‡ of Cincinnati; and Rev. John Orcutt, D. D., of New York.

* See page 27.

† See page 44.

‡ See page 53.

Election of Officers.

The Society then adjourned to meet to-morrow at 12 M., in the Colonization Building.

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. John K. Converse, of Burlington, Vermont.

COLONIZATION BUILDING,

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 21, 1874.

The American Colonization Society met this day at 12 o'clock M., pursuant to adjournment: President Latrobe in the chair.

The minutes of the meeting of last evening were read and approved.

Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Almon Merwin, Esq., and Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, D. D., were appointed a Committee to nominate the President and Vice Presidents of the Society for the ensuing year.

On motion of Hon. Peter Parker, it was

Resolved, That the Society returns its grateful acknowledgments to the Rev. George W. Samson, D. D., Rev. William J. R. Taylor, D. D., Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, D. D., and Rev. John Orcutt, D. D., for their very able, eloquent, and impressive addresses, delivered last evening at its Fifty-seventh anniversary meeting, and that they be requested to furnish copies for publication.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the pastor, Rev. James H. Cuthbert, D. D., and to the officers of the First Baptist Church, for their very cordial grant of the use of their Church for our annual meeting held there last evening.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be given to the choir of the First Baptist Church, for their excellent and acceptable music on the occasion of our Fifty-seventh anniversary meeting.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, chairman of the Committee on Nominations, presented a report nominating and recommending the re-election of the present President and Vice Presidents of the

Address of Rev. George W. Samson, D. D.

Society, and the following named gentlemen as additional Vice Presidents, viz: Rev. Randolph S. Foster, D. D., of Ohio; Rt. Rev. William B. Stevens, D. D., of Pennsylvania; Eli K. Price, Esq., of Pennsylvania; Rt. Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, D. D., of Ohio; and Theodore L. Mason, M. D., of New York.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the report be accepted and approved, and that the Society elect the persons nominated by the Committee. (See page 3.)

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report of the Society be referred to the Board of Directors.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Society do now adjourn, to meet on the third Tuesday in January, 1875, at 7½ o'clock P. M., in such place as the Executive Committee shall designate.

ADDRESS OF REV. GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D.

All human enterprises which result in great and permanent blessings to mankind begin in the feeble and limited efforts of a few men; they are prompted by convictions that take hold on deep principles of truth and right, which only a few minds of mature experience and free from personal ambition fully conceive; their full and comprehensive operation is retarded, often for generations by the imperfect views and selfish spirit common to fallen human nature; but at length they triumph over every obstacle and command the admiration and support of nations and ages.

Such an enterprise is that of the colonization of the African Continent by the descendants of its people, brought two centuries ago to the eastern shore of North America. It is the world's latest and completest development of the law that emancipation of enslaved captives is necessarily coupled with the duty of their restoration to the land of their nativity. This duty,

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whether the enslaved be a captive taken in war or a bondman forced to labor, grows out of three relations universally recognized among mankind as of binding force: first, the right of the enslaved to the use of the powers God has given him in the home where God placed him; second, the claim set up by nations having the power to enforce it; and third, the united convictions of duty and interest which finally compel the captor and master to acknowledge this right and to yield to its demand.

The law of duty is drawn from the record of what men have thought and done in all ages of human history; and especially in primitive and simple times. All great writers on law and jurisprudence, from Solon to Blackstone, go back alike to Homer and Moses for precedents; to the one because the fiction is reality, being but a picture of human impulses as they show themselves in the actual life of men; the other because the faithful chronicle of one nation's experience is but a transcript of the principles ruling all nations.

The principle of equity ruling individual and national duty to bond-servants among Asiatics is set forth in Jacob going back to his father with presents after a service of twenty years, and in the restoration of his descendants from centuries of bondage in Egypt, and afterwards in Assyria, when their masters, enriched by their labor, sent them back to their native land well provided for support in their settlement; and that universal law of recognized obligation is now seen in the stipulations of the Chinese, the Russian, and other governments in Asia, that no subject of theirs shall be removed for foreign service without the guarantee of his return by the employer. That same principle, always and everywhere ruling European mind and action, is pictured in the inexorable law which compelled the final restoration of the captive Helen to her Grecian lord, as it more quickly prompted the return of Briseis with gifts to her Trojan sire; and this law of inseparable connection between emancipation and restoration is still read in the demand on Turkey by the Allied Western Powers that the

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Greeks, after four centuries of bondage, should be restored both to their freedom and their property rights; it is now pending in the claim of both England and the United States as to the very doubtful case of the *Virginians* captives; and it is read in the order from the Italian Government, this morning published at New York, that children brought to this country by Italian padroni shall be returned before the 15th May to their homes at the cost of their masters.

The point for our consideration to-night is, that this principle is not only binding, but it has been specially recognized as still holding between enlightened and prospered America and benighted and down-trodden Africa. It is our privilege and pride to hail the fact that, in the entire history of our American nation, this principle has been both recognized and controlling; and that the American Colonization Society is its noble monument.

It should be always borne in mind in any survey of what men and nations have said and done, that our Divine Ruler and Redeemer has himself linked the impulses of interest and duty indissolubly in man's nature; and He *means* that they shall never be severed in the noblest human endeavor, not even in the moral redemption of man. The very law of Heaven is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" the stimulus to Christian enterprise from the Divine Master's own lip is "an hundred-fold in this world" to him who "forsakes all" to promote His cause; human interests, individual and national, are legitimate appeals to engage in Christian enterprise; commerce is generally the pioneer of Christian missions; and no intelligent mind could have full confidence in the Colonization of Africa by restored natives if in every stage of its progress these divinely linked impulses of interest and duty were not found to be combined in the acts and words of the three parties concerned: the American whites who send the emigrants, the emigrants themselves who go, and the people of Liberia and of the African Continent who urge their claim to colonists.

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The suggestions which have led to African colonization can be traced far back into the history of the American Colonies and of the infant nation; and it is worthy of remark that in each step taken American sentiment leads and British philanthropy follows; while both act from interest as well as from duty.

In August, 1773, before the American war, prompted by the desire of some young African slaves to return to their native land as Christian missionaries, Dr. Ezra Stiles, of Newport, R I., afterwards President of Yale College, joined by the celebrated theologian, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, wrote an address on the iniquity of the slave-trade, and proposed the education and sending out of these African youth as "the least compensation we are able to make to the poor Africans for the injuries they are constantly receiving from this unrighteous practice;" to which address responses came in the form of pecuniary contributions both from Scotland and New England. In 1787, the same year that the United States Constitution declared that the slave-trade should cease after twenty-one years, Dr. William Thornton published an address to the free people of color in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, proposing to become the leader of a colony to be settled on the West Coast of Africa. Shortly after Dr. Hopkins corresponded with Granville Sharpe, of England, making a kindred suggestion; and in 1792, five years later, the Government of Great Britain at great expense transported the negroes captured in the American States during the war of Independence, who had been temporarily supported in Canada, to the new territory obtained for them at Sierra Leone, on the West Coast of Africa. From this day the duty of restoring at public expense the descendants of African captives to their native land becomes a controlling sentiment; which sentiment has not died out from the American breast, and cannot now be stifled except from a mistaken view of the interests and obligations involved.

England, led as America was to be, by united interest and duty, now enters the arena of active enterprise in paying her

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debt to Africa. The independence of America, cutting England off from a market in the Western World for her manufactures, turned the attention of our worthy ancestors to the East; bringing to her, also to both Asia and Africa, a blessing which a century ago no one dreamed of. For two centuries, from A. D. 1600, the English East India trading enterprise had been secondary to the American colonial; and the supply posts she had planted on the Western and Southern Coast of Africa had been but of temporary consideration. Now, however, that very Cornwallis who lost prestige at Yorktown was called to retrieve his honor in India. Soon extended territory in Southern and Eastern Asia, and in Western, Southern, and Eastern Africa, were gained by Great Britain for commercial purposes; and highways were opened along which English and American missionaries, with their wives and children, were seen pressing, their concord never disturbed even by the war of 1812. *Following America*, successive acts of the British Parliament in 1805, 1807, 1811, and 1824 were passed making the slave-trade first to have a limit, then to be a felony, and last to be piracy. Following again the Northern States, after many years Great Britain in 1834 abolished slavery in her West India Colonies; paying, however, \$100,000,000 as remuneration to the owners. To plant and sustain the Colony of Sierra Leone England expended in 1801 about \$116,000, and in 1802 made an appropriation of \$50,000 over and above the employ of her national vessels for transportation.

The field of movement now shifts to America. In 1800 Virginia, filled with free negroes by the humane acts of Washington and kindred spirits in emancipating their slaves, began to discuss the question of an asylum for them; and Monroe, then Governor of Virginia, and Jefferson, President of the United States, were enlisted. Interest, indeed, but mutual interest, that of the whites and blacks, met and mingled with deep convictions of duty. The Northwestern Territory, made free by Virginia's own act only thirteen years previous, was suggested as that asylum; but the humanity of those true friends of the

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colored people forbade the selection of a home so inclement and so exposed to white aggression, especially from the French Canadians. Under date of December 27, 1804, Mr. Jefferson suggested their incorporation with the English Colony of Sierra Leone, since the British Government had proposed to deliver up this Colony to home rule. Under date, again, of January 21, 1811, after he had ceased to be President, Mr. Jefferson, replying to an appeal of an Association of Friends who were urging from humanity African colonization, refers to his former suggestion as to Sierra Leone, against which objection had arisen, and adds: "You inquire whether I would use my endeavor to procure such an establishment, secure against violence from other powers, and particularly from the French? Certainly I shall be willing to do anything I can to give it effect and safety. * * * Nothing is more to be wished than that the United States themselves would undertake to make such an establishment on the Coast of Africa." Mr. Jefferson's suggestion as to Sierra Leone, he states, arose from the fact that the Colony was mainly made up of "fugitives from these States during the Revolutionary war;" and the obligation of the State of Virginia and of the United States to make pecuniary appropriation for this purpose admits no discussion in the mind of this strict constructionist.

The era for the rise of the American Colonization Society had now dawned. At the meeting for its organization, December 21st, 1816, Hon. Henry Clay, in an opening address, referred to three interests it sought to promote: first, that of the colored people; second, that of the whites of America; and he added as a third, "the moral fitness of restoring to the land of their fathers" these exiles, since, said he, "if we can thus transmit to Africa the blessings of our arts, of our civilization, and our religion, may we not hope that America will extinguish a great portion of that moral debt which she has contracted to that unfortunate Continent?" He cited the Colony of Sierra Leone, planted by England, as an example both of the principle and of the promise for its fulfillment. Mr.

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Caldwell, who followed, referring to the expense which would necessarily attend it, said that there could hardly be a difference of opinion as to the fact that every section of the United States was alike interested and indebted; that it was "a great national object and ought to be supported by the national purse;" since, as Mr. Clay had declared, "there ought to be a national atonement for the wrongs and injuries which Africa had received."

The memorial sent, in accordance with this view, to Congress, was responded to by a report closing with two resolutions, which contained the following recommendation: that stipulations be obtained from Great Britain and other maritime powers, both for the suppression of the slave-trade, and also "guaranteeing a permanent neutrality for any colony of free people of color, which, *at the expense* and under the auspices of the United States, shall be established on the African Coast;" to which was added, "*Resolved*, That adequate provision should be hereafter made to defray any necessary expenses which may be incurred in carrying the preceding resolution into effect." After some delay, from pressure of other business, Congress, on the 3d March, 1819, appointed an agent on the Coast of Africa to receive and colonize recaptives taken in slave ships. The sloop-of-war *Cyane*, with a merchant ship in convoy, and subsequently several vessels of war, were at the public expense employed in this service of national obligation. As it was now apparent that a nucleus of trained negroes was essential to the colony, who might be instructors and supporters of the almost helpless recaptives, Mr. Monroe interpreted the law just passed by Congress as necessitating the sending of select American negroes liberated by philanthropic masters for this mission, and also as providing for the buying of lands and the furnishing of other supplies necessary; and thus in its equity the United States began to act on the principle of duty recognized in other lands and ages.

Eight years after this, in 1829, when twelve State Legislatures had united in commending the Colonization enterprise,

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Hon. Henry Clay addressed the Society of his adopted State, Kentucky, in that masterly speech of more than an hour in length, which did more than any single effort ever made to bring our country to view rightly the question of slave-emanicipation as a moral law which was inevitably sooner or later to rule; while, too, the same speech gave the clear forecast of the provision for the emancipated which, sooner or later, our nation must make, or suffer the penalty of violated law. He refers to the fact that, in the council of diplomats assembled at Ghent, to form the treaty which fixed the relation of the new American States to the various States of Europe, a British jurist admitted the superior fidelity shown by the American States toward weak and dependent Indian tribes and African slaves; their acts, both before and after their independence, standing out in striking contrast to the course not only of Spain and France but even of England herself. He dwelt on the fact that as soon as they had the power, they carried out in good faith their remonstrances with the mother country against the slave-trade; providing in their very Constitution for its cessation as soon as previous British property guarantees to investments made in the traffic could be legally canceled. He argued that the humanity which controlled the mass of slaveholders not only permitted but encouraged manumission and provision for emancipated slaves; and declared that the day was not distant when interest and duty would unite to secure universal emancipation. He showed that the competition of white labor, which had driven the colored people of all the free States into obscurity, was now acting in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky; and that humanity as well as national indebtedness demanded the most studious consideration on the part of American statesmen as to their future provision. He pointed to the recognition of this duty witnessed in churches, especially among Christian women, but also in the acts of the Legislatures of more than half of the States of the Union and in the enrollment among the members of the Colonization Society of "some of the most distinguished men

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of our country in its legislative, executive, and judicial councils." He urged that nothing but the substitution of white for colored laborers in the Southern States would give them the prosperity of the North; that the return of the exiles of Africa, properly trained and provided, would bring the blessings of peace, prosperity and happiness to the teeming populations of two continents; with the union of freedom and republican institutions as a heritage to millions of their descendants. He hailed the enterprise as the fulfillment of the mission of the World's Redeemer and of the aspirations of his ardent and pious disciples to regenerate the two continents still left in heathenism. As to the expense incurred, he showed from careful estimates that one million of dollars applied annually for sixty or seventy years, less than \$75,000,000, paid as a national debt, would restore all the exiles to the land of their ancestry. Such a strain of eloquence has seldom fallen from the lips of any orator of ancient or modern times; such a tracing of the moral law of duty could never have been resisted, except by selfish cupidity, in any age; every point of its great argument has been intensified in each succeeding decade of American history since; if listened to in the day of its utterance, the words of Him who spake as never man spake would have been verified to the very letter, that the man and the nation true to God's law of righteousness towards the captive "shall receive an hundred-fold" for his fidelity; and if now, when that hundred-fold has been entered on the other side of the balance-sheet, and has been more than paid in the expense of the late war—if our nation and its people determine to do the duty that must be met towards the freed people of our country, they may save the generations soon to struggle for the mastery in the competition for life on our continent—they may save this last refuge of the needy—another accumulation of a debt that at a hundred per cent. of annually accruing increase must some day be fully paid. With a single allusion to the concurrent testimony of other statesmen of that day, we may pass to a glance at the proof of this still pending event

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revealed to the forecast of that generation of great men and of devoted lovers of their country and of the world.

Two years only after this speech of Mr. Clay, when his spirit, though a southern man, was awakening a counterpart in South Carolina nullification, at the annual meeting of the Colonization Society, held at Washington, and crowded by members from both Houses of Congress, letters from both ex-President Madison and Chief Justice Marshall were read. Mr. Madison, with pen tremulous with age, wrote: "The Society had always my good wishes;" and after stating the difficulties in its accomplishment, he meets the chief obstacle to colonization, the attendant expense, with a suggestion worthy of the State as well as of the nation which had so worthily honored him; in which suggestion the philanthropist towers above even the patriot, and yet much more above the sectionalist and the political bigot. "In contemplating," writes he, "the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the nation; which will soon entirely cease to be ours, under a pledge for another object. The great object in question is truly of a national character; and it is known that distinguished patriots, not dwelling in slaveholding States, have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it. Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the colored population, are not equally so, it is but fair to recollect that the sections most to be benefitted are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of." Chief Justice Marshall's letter, by a marked law of common sentiment called forth at a common crisis, makes the same suggestion as to the public lands first made by Senator King, of New York, whom Madison, amid the spirit of nullification, calls a "distinguished patriot;" he says that this fund, ceded to the General Government without restriction as to its use by different States and chiefly by Virginia, is less

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exposed to those constitutional objections which are made in the South;" and he concludes, as one inspired by the experience of 1832, with a vision of the scenes of 1862: "The whole Union would be strengthened by this act and be relieved from a danger whose extent can scarcely be estimated."

Forty years have passed since Madison and Marshall thus wrote and when Clay spoke for the ages with almost inspired forecast. And to-day how stand the three parties who in all ages have agreed that an emancipated captive must be restored with gifts, or the offended deity, the lawgiver of justice and equity, will not be appeased!

Let us glance a moment, first, at the white race, holding with tenacious grasp the soil, the foundation of all individual and national wealth; which the red man, appealing to Heaven, declares was his by ancestral heritage; and which the black man, since the war, has verily believed was to be portioned out among the race that had for two centuries tilled it for usurping landlords. He who sits above has demanded, as of the Trojan heroes refusing to agree in surrendering a stolen captive, hecatombs of human sacrifices, not less than one million of America's choice sons, two-thirds of them from the States that least recognized the debt which fathers impose on the estates they bequeath. He has exacted in the war expenditure an hundred-fold of the sum asked for by Mr. Clay thirty years before as adequate both for the emancipation and the return of the captives; and He has yet more cut off from our land, our ports, our ocean commerce, by an *indirect tax*, not recognized by human tribunals, but by a higher law *extorted*, a thousand-fold more than the sum contemplated by the statesmen of 1832. And now into our States come pouring literally hordes of the Old World, swarming our States, Massachusetts and South Carolina alike, as the Goths over Italy, ruling New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis as Attica and Alaric and Theodoric dominated Rome; and who supposes that this mass can be ruled by equity; aye more, that new lords may not seize on our inheritance, when equity towards the black

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man is not shown! We may well take up the warnings of both Madison and Jefferson, of Clay and Jackson, in 1832; for the utterances of those aged statesmen of the past century are not to be treated as the excited imaginations of a moment! They were the calm, compelled counsels of the truest friends of humanity when about to meet their own account as American leaders.

The second vital consideration, then, is, "What is justice and equity to the colored race?" Three *home* proffers have been made! Have they brought the relief needed?

The first promised was *homesteads*. Gen. Patrick, the first Provost Marshal General of Virginia, a devout Christian of the Presbyterian church, as well as an able and spotless commander during the war, was obliged to restrain, by force, mistaken friends alike of the colored man and of their country, who told the people just freed alike from slavery and from military control, that their master's lands were to be divided up among them, and that the Government would provide them mules and implements for farming. Not the first acre has yet been given them; and no man in our country believes this would either be for the colored man's interest or justice to the white population; unless it be a revival of the idea of 1832—the devotion of the lands now lavished in railroad grants, to the furnishing of African colonists as payment of the national debt long due to them!

Then *labor* was proffered; and with promises of a proportion of the crops, a large portion of the colored people went confidently to their toil. But crops failed, necessarily; for the soil was exhausted; the laborer was unsteady and unskilled; two or three years impoverished proprietors and left laborers to starve; and all Government could do was to provide transportation to new and remote lands far south.

Then came the *ballot*, *eligibility to office*, and the *Civil-rights Bill*, upon which we will not dwell.

Turning now to Africa, what opens before us! How wonderful the changes the last twenty-five years have wrought;

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as if to prepare that continent to be the mission-field, the land of promise, the Caanan of rest to this weary, jostled, outrun and dispirited people. Herodotus tells us of an Egyptian colony sent into Ethiopia, whose influence so advanced them that they at length made an effectual conquest of Upper Egypt, where, in the city of Thebes, they for some generations took on Asiatic culture; and Bunsen has indicated that this was the very era when David wrote, "Ethiopia shall *soon* stretch her hands unto God." Strabo, four centuries later, tells how Greek youth of Cyrene trained themselves for years to explore successfully the upper waters of the Nile; modern readers of Livingstone's researches can compare the records and see that the ancient explorer passed over the track of the modern pioneer; Ptolemy's map, published a century after Christ, fixes the sources of the Nile just where Livingstone now places them, ten degrees south of the Equator; Grecian influence so penetrated Central Africa that the Ethiopian treasurer of Queen Candace, as Luke's record indicates, was reading the Greek translation of the Hebrew Isaiah; and the Greek language so influenced the dialects of the far interior as to appear in the vocabulary of the Yoruba people, living within the bosom of the Niger, as the late Smithsonian publication plainly indicates. Ten or twelve centuries yet later, the Arabian followers of Mohammed penetrated from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, south of the Great Desert; and so effectually have they impressed their religious convictions, that amulets containing passages from the Koran are found on the necks of slaves carried to South America from the Western Coast of Africa.

Three forms of ancient civilization have thus found the African mind susceptible to their impress. It remains to ask whether another, and that a far higher, may not take its place.

Twenty-five years ago the encroachments of Persia and of Russia towards India began to give serious fears to English statesmen and merchants that the day might be hastened

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when India would be entered from both the West and the North, and when Great Britain's monopoly of its trade would come to an end. From that day, as not only her open acts but the confidential intimations of her agents have declared, the Continent of Africa has been singled out as the field of her explorations and of her intended future commerce. The settlement at Cape Coast Castle, on the south, has extended far up the Eastern Coast to Natal, and even to Zanzibar, and back into the interior to the diamond mines. From the Strait at the mouth of the Red Sea, British exploring agents excited the jealousy of Abyssinia; till six years ago the Abyssinian war made the road to the interior, through that Christian kingdom, a highway for English merchants. Within a few years, the island of Lagos, nigh the mouth of the Niger, was seized; and since that time loans from British capitalists to Liberia for roads to the interior indicate a policy leading to a monopoly of the commerce of Africa from that side. About five years ago, after the persevering interior explorations of the missionary Livingstone, followed by scientific and military leaders like Barth, Speke, and Baker, the latter, Sir Samuel Baker, with his wife and an armed escort of 1,500 Egyptian soldiers, bearing on the backs of bullocks three river steamers, whose parts were to be put together on the Nile above all obstructions, whence the inland lakes could be entered, has successfully planted a central commercial and military settlement, whence roads will be kept open to the Mediterranean on the North, to the Red Sea on the East, to the Atlantic on the West, and to Natal, if not Cape Coast, on the South. The last act of this concentrated conquest is now proceeding in the invasion of the territory of the Ashantees, whose subjugation will be the prelude to the submission of all the interior tribes.

And what inevitably must succeed to this commercial occupation? Unquestionably, just as from India after British occupation came a cry that reached England as well as America, and made Christian missionaries meet, even amid the war of 1812, as brothers in arms in a higher service, to herald

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Christ on "India's coral strand," so now from "Afric's sunny fountains" already comes the kindred call. What means it that Arthington was dreaming of an inland settlement back of Liberia, and that he sent to the American Colonization Society for choice Christian colored men to lead it? Was the mind that penned that letter possessed by a fancy? or did a grand reality almost frenzy his appeal? Which sees farthest, the self-sacrificing philanthropist or the interested man of the world, as to the colored man's lofty mission for the world, as well as his only hope for his family and kindred? Let two or three of their own number declare.

In Richmond, Virginia, some twenty-five years ago, a mulatto youth, of sprightly mind and liberal home-education, gifted as a herald of Christ, longed to go and preach to his countrymen in Africa. His master gave him his freedom; the Mission Society of his native South gave him a salary; the Colonization ship granted him a passage; and for years he was an efficient missionary in Liberia. When our civil war closed he came from Africa to visit his kindred, and to tell American freedmen of the land where they were not only freemen but nobles without rival; to pledge a farm to any family as the gift of the Liberian Government; and to thrill American Christians with the picture of spiritual harvest-fields ripe for the sickle, in the land where Egyptian science, Grecian art, and Mohammedan superstition were to be supplanted by the pure Christian faith. The voice of Rev. Mr. Hill rang at a large public convention in New York with eloquence that surprised and captivated; for his theme had inspired the man. He came to the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society at Washington, and on their behalf procured a passage to Liberia for any who would go. He was met by the romantic fancies of farms, and College education, and public offices, which dazzled the vision of his colored brethren. Towering like Moses before Israel when hesitating on the borders of Egypt, he exclaimed, "Be assured, in all that you are *justly* receiving from the American people, you are only borrowing

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the jewels of your old masters to bear them to the land of promise!" Every day since that appeal the mist has dissipated that was before his hearers' eyes; and now some of them see their mistake.

Some thirty years ago a tall, swarthy, but high-browed African, whose grandfather was seized in the interior of Africa as a captive from a cultured tribe, was displaying in Kentucky great power as a Christian preacher. At his desire his owner gave him his freedom, and he went as a missionary to Liberia. He disappeared from the Colony for years; but early during the civil war found his way back to America to rehearse his story and ask aid in his new work. • Rev. Mr. Herndon had found his ancestral tribe; he had become a chief among them; he had won them to the Christian faith; he had allied them to the Liberian Republic; and now he sought means to rear a house of worship, with a Sabbath bell to ring forth its melody in a valley that never heard such music. He secured his desire; he returned to his field; and now he is at once Liberian judge in his district and a crier for the Judge of all the earth.

Some six years since, Robert Arthington, of Leeds, England, gave £1,000 sterling to plant a settlement of select Christian families, as the first of a cordon back of Liberia, which he hoped might some day girdle the continent. The chosen band were found in North Carolina and brought together at Portsmouth, Va. At the farewell meeting their Christian leader exclaimed, in his parting address, "Thank God for American slavery! But for it I should have been born a heathen and could never have been Christ's herald to my countrymen in Africa." Just at that crisis the multiplying and earnest requests to be sent to Liberia led one of the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society at Washington to urge their claim to Government transportation by land, if not on the sea, upon the members of the Senate and other officers of the Government, who had it in their power to promote the claim. The appeal was met with the statement, "Oh! we want these select people here as laborers and as voters!"

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The question was asked in reply and pressed home—"Senator, General, are you not liable to be as selfish as you thought the slaveholders were ten years ago?" The appeal went home to Christian minds and American hearts! The train of facts presented in this address of to-night led Senator Fessenden, lately Secretary of the Treasury and at that time Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, to pledge himself as a leader in the effort to secure the same appropriation, \$100 each, for the ocean passage of freedmen, which the Government for years had paid for recaptives sent to Liberia. His death shortly afterwards cut short this mission.

During the administration of President Buchanan, a slave, called the "Wanderer" ran into Savannah, Georgia, freighted with slaves captured from a superior tribe of tradespeople in the interior of Africa. While the Secretary of the Navy was arranging for the return of these people to Africa, under the auspices of the Colonization Society, the people were scattered through the Gulf States. About ten years later, some six years ago, a missionary from Central Africa, Rev. Mr. Phillips, was addressing a large audience of colored people on the customs of the Yoruba people in Central Africa, when an unusual attention was observed in a cluster of finely formed, intelligent people, in the rear of the house. To illustrate their language, the missionary repeated the Lord's prayer in the Yoruba tongue; when an irrepressible cry of delight came from this attentive band. At the close of the service they came pressing their way to the missionary, and in their native tongue told him the story of their capture, their dispersion at Savannah, and of their present freedom and their longing for home. He spoke of the Colonization Society; and they begged that they might be sent to Africa. Their case was named; the funds of the Society, consecrated to pay the passage of emigrants to Liberia alone, was more than absorbed for such applicants; and these captives, now asking return under American law, are yet unredeemed! To whom does their restoration belong! From whom is the pas-

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sage money back to Africa for any captive yet unrestored due, but from the entire American people! Is it not time, when philanthropic individuals are giving colleges and sugar-mills, schools and tools to African colonists, and when Mission Societies are sustaining heralds of the Gospel for Africa's redemption,—is it not time for the American people and its Government to pay their *honest debt*, in giving transportation home to any applicant, and that *charity* be left to its appropriate work?

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MR. PRESIDENT: An institution which has lived fifty-seven round years in our stormy times has some good claim upon the respect of its enemies as well as the favor of its friends. "Persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed," the American Colonization Society needs no apology to the world for having lived so long, nor for looking out with growing confidence in its principles and work into a future which will vindicate both, and make its renown in history. All human experience proves that Colonization has always been a hard process, from the dispersion of the nations at Babel, and the Hebrew exodus, down to the last experiments in our own age. And just in proportion to the hardy vigor of the migratory races have been the daring of their colonial enterprises and the sufferings of the first settlers in new lands and strange climates.

It seems to be a primal necessity to any great, strong growth of communities and nations that the beginnings shall be small, the seed-sowing true, the rooting slow, the upshoot gradual, the entire development according to well-known laws of production. Oaks do not grow in green-houses, nor can exotics flourish in hostile soil.

The transplanting of a people from one continent to another, across great oceans and under the inevitable trials of so complete a change, is marked by severe discipline, and produces

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modifications which must either depress or elevate them in the scale of civilization. It makes or breaks them. It is a part of that principle of natural selection which involves the great struggle for life in the natural kingdom, and which results in the survival of the strongest, if not the fittest. While this struggle is going on, especially in its earlier stages, we can only expect what we see in the beginning of all colonies, where the very elements have to be combatted, the forest cleared, the virgin soil broken up, the resources of life to be created or developed, and the foundations of state and church laid deep below the reach of frosts and floods.

A second principle which finds abundant illustration in the history of this Society is, that the very best things in the life of a man, an institution, a community, or a State, are providential. We may err much in our interpretations of Providence; but God is His own interpreter, and, like prophecy, its actual fulfillment is its only true exponent. But it is a foolish ignorance which does not recognize the plain manifestations of God in history. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar are not the only monuments of the danger of fighting against God.

God makes nations, and He alone. It is His supreme prerogative, "over the kingdoms to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant." Men form colonies, make constitutions, elect or accept rulers, enact laws. One administration follows another, with the usual political changes; but the nation is of God, who appoints its bounds and "hath made of one blood all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth." The nation may take on different forms and governments. The same nation may be in the same century, or even in one or two decades, like France, a monarchy, an empire, an anarchy, and a republic. But France and the French people are of God, in spite of the revolutions, and the Napoleons, and the commune. Men in their madness may hack and hew the tree of liberty, they may tear down the altar and the throne, but the race, the language, the character, the people, remain. When God plants a cedar of Lebanon, and nour-

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ishes it for centuries amid the rocks and snows of its mountain home, it may naturally and slowly decay, but even then its roots may shoot up new growths of its own kind for centuries more. But nothing but His own tempestuous winds can root it out.

The history of our American colonization shows most conclusively that it was carried on in a sphere above and beyond the secular purposes of men. It is so full of long delays, of great disasters, of unforeseen disappointments, of losses and crosses and almost crushing defeats, that the world will never cease to marvel at the story. Yet out of it all came this nation, with its Protestant institutions, its principles of religion, and civil liberty, with its complex formation, and its wonderful power of diffusing different nationalities into that one new man who bears the name of American.

It is an admitted principle of physics that the greatest uniformity is found among the lower ranks of the creation, and that the greatest diversity is seen in the higher orders of nature. And thus in political philosophy the principle, which was formulated by Niebuhr, is now accepted that, "among States, that is the most perfect in which a number of institutions, originally distinct, being organized each after its kind into centres of national life, form a complete whole." It is this very crystallization of the many composite elements of the colonization of this country, which, in harmony with the natural laws of population and national life, has made us one, out of many, and demonstrates the providential character of this Union, which brave and vast armies could not break up. This is the lesson of our colonial history, and of the continuous record of immigration from the Old World. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were the works of men, but the Union is of God. It grew; it was not made; and therefore it was not in the power of man to make a new and another nation out of this one which God hath made to dwell on this continent, from ocean to ocean.

And now, casting our eyes over the Atlantic to Africa, we

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may see somewhat of the same movement begun, and only begun, in the Liberian Republic. But the conditions in some respects are more favorable than those which attended the settlement of America. It is the only Colonization enterprise of Christendom which began and has been carried on from motives that are purely benevolent and religious. It is the only colony and nation in all the world over which the great Christian powers spread the shelter of their united flags. It did not rise under the dominion of a Romish government, nor was it originated, like the greatest of ancient and modern colonies, in the lust of trade and ambition, for territorial aggrandizement or maritime power, much less in what an English writer sarcastically calls "the brilliant idea of a colony, for the sake of getting rid of a delinquent population." Its foundations were laid by good and wise men, with the foresight of strong faith, and in the love of human liberty for the human race. Not in blood and wrong, not in the tears of the oppressed and in the woes of the helpless, but in the spirit of a genuine philanthropy, and of a patriotism which is the life of freedom, did these heroic men plant and build for God and man.

I regard it as one of the signal providences of this cause, that the only deliberate and successful scheme of colonization from our American Union has been in the interest of the freedom, the separate nationality and the elevation of the only race that was ever brought to our shores and held here in slavery. It is another of these providences that, in the short period of less than fifty years, the colony of Liberians became the Republic of Liberia, with its Declaration of Independence, its Constitution, and institutions like our own, governed exclusively by colored people, and commanding the respect of the Christian nations. All the essentials of modern civilization are there—constitutional "government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—the home, the school, the college, the church, with material industries and resources of undeveloped wealth which will yet enrich the world and advance its owners in proportion to their intelligence, industry and skill.

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The historian tells us that the only immediate result of Sebastian Cabot's voyage and discovery of this continent was the importation into England from America of the first turkeys that had ever been seen in Europe. "Such was the beginning of the immense commerce between England and America." It was more than a century before the so-called right of discovery produced any great results. The colonies of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh ended in disaster. And it is an ever memorable fact, that "when the year 1600 came, there was not an English family, no English man or woman, on this continent, unless, perchance, there was wandering somewhere some survivor of Raleigh's lost colony." "The fullness of time" had not yet come for the settlement of America. But when that hour struck, it began, and nothing could stop the advancing tide.

Contrast with this last century in American annals the progress of our little African Republic within a single half century, its native productions, its lucrative commerce and its rational life, then forecast, if you can, its Centennial exhibit!

Another aspect of this subject claims our profound regard. The sagacious men who projected the colony distinctly proclaimed their purposes not only to elevate the emigrants to be sent from America, but to destroy the barbarous African slave-trade, and to civilize and Christianize the adjacent native African populations. To-day this little Republic has a sea-coast of nearly six hundred miles, every foot of which is sacred to freedom. In addition to the aggregate of over 15,000 emigrants from America, and over 5,000 recaptured slaves, who were sent thither for a home, 600,000 natives of various contiguous tribes are within its government, and under the influence of its institutions.

Moreover, these results have been secured just at the time when the interest in everything relating to African discovery has been stimulated to its highest point by the journeyings and researches of learned men to whom the world listens with reverence. The explorations of Livingstone, Barth, and Speke

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and Grant, and the German Rolhfs, have a far higher interest than attempts to solve the geographical question of the sources of the Niger and the Nile, and the ethnology of the interior of that continent. The great travellers are the forerunners of the missionary and of the philanthropic agencies of the times. The late expedition of Sir Samuel Baker, under the banners of the Khedive of Egypt, has not only extended his domain to the Equator, but has extinguished the internal slave-trade in the whole conquered territory. This, too, was one of the heroic purposes of the indomitable Livingstone. And so freedom marches in the tracks of the discoverers, and Christianity and civilization are embodied in the persons and services of these representative men.

It is God's way to prepare nations for the great movements of His providence. The world was at peace, and there was a general expectation of some Divine deliverer when the Messiah came. May it not be, is it presumptuous to suppose, that some similar events may hang upon a time when the literature of the world has been so enriched with the records of recent African explorations; when American and English expeditions have been sent out in search of the greatest of African missionary adventurers; when the very children of this generation have become as familiar with African scenery and tribes and productions as with those of the civilized lands; when France and Great Britain are seeking wealth, increasing traffic, and pushing their armies and conquering empire in the interior of that vast realm, as formerly they did in the Indies; and when Christian missions, in spite of climate and barbarism and the most degrading superstitions, have girdled the Coasts with the banners of the Cross? Is it nothing that the latest travellers have unexpectedly found, within three hundred miles of the young Republic, those large Mohammedan cities and villages where dwells a superior people, in whose veins is probably running a mixture of the old Carthaginian blood with that of the pure negro race, having an Arabic literature, with schools for their children, and scholarly and even European books for their homes? It is at least

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something that even Moslem propagandism, with its proverbial zeal, has carried thither its testimony for the Unity of God against the horrible and grotesque paganism of the native tribes. It is something encouraging, too, that we have the personal testimony of that learned and enterprising African polyglott, Professor Blyden, that this Mohammedan state and that Arabic tongue furnish the key to open new spheres of Christian Missionary enterprise. It is something gained that, through Liberia, the Arabic Bible of Dr. Van Dyck and his collaborators, and the Koran of the Prophet will be brought face to face against each other, as they stand together against paganism, which is their common foe.

May it not be within the scope of Providence that, as the Liberian Republic shall extend eastward until it touches these interior realms with its civil liberty and Christian faith, it shall be the signal for new and peaceful victories, and for the same kind of fusion of peoples and tribes and tongues which has been going on in this land for nearly three hundred years? It is true that the African race has not that migratory spirit and colonizing power which characterizes the Anglo-Saxon. But our freedmen have the same great moulding elements now at work upon them in this country; and since their emancipation those elements have been combined and set in motion with prodigious power in their social, civic and religious relations. As a people they are being educated by a thousand elevating influences. They are learning their rights and privileges. They are studying law, and medicine, and theology, and statesmanship, besides the industrial arts. They are learning to take care of themselves and their children.

With these things they are quite sure to imbibe the spirit of American institutions, and will, to a certain degree, exhibit the migrating habits of our white population. All these things will naturally induce many to seek a home in Liberia, where their intelligence, industry, and skill will find equal rights and rapid advancement, without conflict with the white race. As intelligence, education, self-help, and religious zeal advance,

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we may expect a large increase of this most desirable class of emigrants, who will speedily add to the best strength of the young Republic, around which native millions shall gather, and receive the light and blessings of which that Christian Government is the fruit. When that day comes, Colonization will no longer be a charitable work. It will take care of itself. Emigration will follow its own self-moving laws, and lines of steamers and merchant vessels will be constantly bearing new companies of colonists to the land of their adoption, and bringing back the rich products of its bountiful soil to our marts of traffic.

If it be said that this expected day is in the far distance, the reply is: 1st. That already thousands more have applied for transmission to Liberia than we have means to send. 2d. That the utmost demands of Liberia for new colonists of the best sort can be supplied without the slightest damage to the laboring interests of this country. 3d. That as the colored people acquire education and property, and a spirit of independence here, a fair proportion may reasonably be expected annually to find homes in Liberia. 4th. That the wisdom and power of God, in the migration of races and the building up of empires, are so historically connected with the growth and establishment of the Kingdom of Christ on earth, that it would be strange indeed if it were not repeated on the grandest scale upon a Continent which has for centuries enriched other lands, not only with her gold and gems, but with the very bondage of her patient and suffering children. "Ethiopia is now stretching out her hands unto God," in the attitude of prayer and supplication; and the cry of the suppliant is beginning to receive its answer in the return of her own sons and daughters with salvation and the voice of melody.

As I read the brief annals of the young Republic, her Plymouth Rock was on that "Providence Island," so fitly named by themselves, where her first typical company of colonists found shelter and a home before they ventured upon the mainland to face the savages and to encounter the terrors of the climate of the Coast. Of all that has been achieved from

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that first landing of the pilgrims of the Elizabeth to this day, your admirable history is the safe repository. I need only point to the grand results, and make no venturesome prophecies.

Sir, is it not time for this American people to stop their theoretical objections, and to accept the facts of this cause and of that Liberian nationality as they stand? The old issues are dead and buried. Who cares to resurrect them? A new era has begun. We sympathize with the freedmen here: why not with the freemen there? We have only to apply the principles of the recent amendments to the Constitution and of the Bill of Civil Rights to this cause, to bring it out into bold relief. We believe in the right of expatriation,³ and the present Congress will exercise its wisdom in defining more accurately its metes and bounds. Can we consistently apply that great principle to the thousands who are coming to our shores from the Old World, and deny its fullest privileges and immunities to our own colored citizens who choose for good reasons to seek a home in Africa? We are fond of proclaiming the mission of America as the apostle of civilization, liberty, and Christianity to all nations. Have we no such Gospel of humanity and of the Kingdom of Christ to preach and exemplify by this same process of Christian colonization in a land which can only have these blessings through its own children?

We plant Christian missions in the wilds of heathenism, and glorify the heroic souls who carry the Cross to the cannibal and the fetich worshipper. Has the Church of Christ yet duly weighed the value of that highway which Liberia has opened for her heralds to take the Gospel to the people who "sit in the valley of the shadow of death," and whose many kings will yet take up the appeal of that dusky chieftain mentioned in your Report, that some "God-man be sent to teach him and his tribe the way to be saved?"

The answer to these questions involves the future of this Society and of Liberia. If their work is done, then let us prepare for their funeral. But, sir, I firmly believe that this institution is only at the opening of a new period of Divine manifestation. We hear no dead-march. We move out into

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the future to the music of that heavenly overture which has never yet lost its sweetness nor its power since first it rang out over the manger of the Virgin's Son.

After a seven days' journey across the burning desert, Sir Samuel Baker and his heroic wife, with his train, reached the mouth of the Great Atbara, one of the principal affluents of the mysterious Nile, where they encamped on the bank of the dry channel, and found water only in the deep pools to which herds of wild animals and flocks of birds came to quench their thirst. Suddenly, at the close of a hot and sultry day, a sound like distant, muttering thunder broke upon the silence of the parched land. It grew deeper and came nearer, when quickly the natives recognized the tones, and with one glad voice they shouted, "The river! The river!" And swiftly it came rushing down from the Abyssinian mountains, filling the wide channel from shore to shore, and hasted to its meeting with the Nile, to bless the whole land with fertility and life. Such is the emblem of what I believe to be the unfulfilled mission of this Society. We may stand waiting upon the bank, panting but patient, and perhaps even mistaking our signs, but suddenly and with irresistible strength the great river of life will yet pour down its floods through the broad dry channels which Providence has prepared for it, and Africa's dark millions shall greet its coming with the voice of rejoicing and salvation!

ADDRESS OF REV. THOMAS H. PEARNE, D. D.

It is a great honor to be invited to address this large and intelligent audience, on the occasion of the Fifty-seventh Anniversary of the American Colonization Society. While I feel a natural diffidence to assume the responsibility of the position, yet there is a real pleasure in complying with the invitation, not only from a deep interest in the cause, but from the most absolute conviction that the cause has great merits, and merits which must commend it to American Christians and

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philanthropists. Allow me to state some of the reasons for this conviction :

1. The first arises from the nature and objects of the organization. The American Colonization Society is a benevolent association, more in fact than in name. It proposes only and purely benevolent objects. There is nothing selfish in them. It is not a scheme for the enrichment of its projectors and contributors, except as they are rich in that divine charity which honors God and blesses mankind. The Society does not work in the interests of oppression, but of liberty. It is only so far forth devoted to the welfare of a class, as to select as its beneficiaries the despised and the injured ; and upon these, and through them upon others, similarly, or even more unhappy, to pour the treasures of its beneficence. The leading objects of your association are two.

The first is the benefit of such colored persons as choose to avail themselves of its provisions. It proposes to do this by placing them in a climate congenial to their health and comfort, and upon a soil of the highest fertility, where, in addition to these advantages, they may also have the improving facilities of schools, churches, and well-ordered government—where they can assert their manhood, as elsewhere they cannot—where they can participate in the making and administering of their own laws, free from the inconveniences and annoyance arising from prejudice and color-caste. It surely cannot be denied that this object, if a practicable one, is benevolent.

It may be urged—indeed it has been urged—that the colored people ought to have all these blessings here, in the land of their birth ; and that, therefore, it is not desirable to send them elsewhere to secure them. This objection is more specious than solid. There are many things in this world which ought to be different than they are. We have to take the world as we find it ; and, finding it in some things awry, we should exert ourselves to make it as near right as we may.

It is not the fault of the colored people that they find themselves suddenly lifted from a state of slavery, and invested

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with the rights and the responsibilities of freedmen ; and, if you please, with the annoyances incident to their new position. It is not their fault that they have been placed side by side with a race that, for three hundred years, have been their masters. They did not create these facts, and it is not to their discredit that, in their political and business association with the whites, they suffer many disadvantages. If the inconveniences of their condition can be mitigated here, and it is believed they may be to some extent, it is well ; and if by removing such of them as desire it to another country, these disagreeabilities can be altogether obviated, so far as those removed are concerned, who shall say that the object is not deserving ? In Liberia, without having to struggle for it, the colored man is the peer of the proudest and the best.

But it is urged, moreover, that to send many of the colored people out of the United States, with the view of freeing them from the sharp and worrying competition with the whites in this country, is only to prejudice the interests of those who remain, because it leaves the fewer here to maintain the unequal struggle. If the Colonization Society were sending, or were likely to be sending, thousands or tens of thousands annually to Africa, it might be worth while to examine this objection ; but when they are sent only to the extent of a few hundreds in a year, the objection has no weight, and may very properly be dismissed.

There are others who still maintain that the blacks are not improved in their condition by being sent to Liberia. I must in candor say, that I think the number who urge this view is very small. Who are the best judges of the fact ? Those who go, or those who remain ? Of those who go, nine out of every ten insist that they have been greatly benefited by their removal to Liberia. This is the concurrent voice of those who have gone there. This has been their language from the beginning. They have passed resolutions to this effect. They have also written in a similar strain to the friends left behind.

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Take an example: One year ago last fall a company of thirty-two went from Hawkinsville, Georgia. Such was the tone of their letters to their friends in Hawkinsville, that in November last, on thirty-six hours' notice, another company of thirty-four went from the same place; and this, although an interested malcontent had circulated unfavorable reports of the country.

With this testimony agree the statements of those who have visited Liberia and sojourned there. Hon. and Rev. Abraham Hanson, Minister Resident and Consul General of the United States to the Republic of Liberia, after a residence of three years therein, speaks in glowing terms of the thrift and prosperity of the people of that country, and he concludes: "Were I a member of the African race, (in the United States,) with my knowledge of the tremendous weight that still oppresses them, and of the illimitable field which invites them to Liberia, with its innumerable facilities for comfort, independence, and usefulness, I should gather my family around me, and embark on board the first vessel bound for that distant shore, even if I had to avail myself of the generous aid which the Colonization Society affords." I dwell upon this feature of the case because there are some who, through ignorance and prejudice, have insisted upon the contrary view; and I affirm, from a close and careful study of the history of this Society, and its operations for fifty-seven years, that it is, and it has ever been, maintained and carried forward, primarily and continuously, in the interest and for the benefit of the black man.

The other benevolent object of this Society is the improvement of Africa, through the agency of those who go to Liberia. This, not less than the former, is a deserving object. Certainly the uplifting of a Continent, with its one hundred and fifty millions of people, from the deepest darkness and degradation to the light and blessings of civilization and religion, is a worthy and benevolent work. This Society proposes to do this, by building up and sustaining a free, strong Government on the West Coast of Africa; by exhibiting

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before the degraded people of that country examples of law and order, of industry and thrift, of social comfort and of Christianity, crowning all; and through this Christian Government, to afford such protection and countenance to proper missionary labor, that the fruits of such labor may crystallize into permanent institutions and forms of well-ordered society. This is not a merely fanciful or theoretical view. These results have already been realized in a somewhat extended form in Liberia. Many thousands of the natives have been raised to a fair degree of civilization. They are now citizens of the Republic. Hundreds of them are earnest and consistent Christians. This brief showing is by no means an overdrawn picture. Its strict faithfulness to facts will not be gainsayed by persons of average intelligence. And, therefore, the inference of the exalted benevolence of the objects of this Society is irresistible.

2. The Colonization Society has effectually suppressed the African slave-trade along six hundred miles of the Western Coast; and on that part of the Coast where it was carried on with more activity, impunity, and success than in any other portion of the Continent. This achievement entitles the Society to our respect and gratitude. But it may be said that all this is in the past; and that, while it may and should challenge respect, it affords no reason why the Society should continue to receive the support of the public; that slavery, being abolished in nearly all parts of the world, there is no need of further care or effort on the subject. All this may be admitted, if slavery were indeed so nearly extinct as the theory assumes, and if the lust of money and power had ceased to operate in this direction. But we cannot be unaware that the slave-trade is regularly and extensively carried on on the Eastern Coast of Africa; that, in view of this, Sir Bartle Frere has been sent to Zanzibar to endeavor to provide by treaty for its suppression; that Sir Samuel Baker and Dr. Livingstone, in their travels through Northern, Central, and Eastern Africa, find that the slave-trade is still active and destructive in those

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regions. Indeed, it has been estimated that nine-tenths of the population of Africa are in slavery, more or less complete. The continued, vigorous existence of the Republic of Liberia is deemed necessary, not only to prevent the reopening of that fearful traffic on the West Coast of Africa, but also to so extend its influence into the interior as to render it impossible that any part of the Continent can ever be ravaged and despoiled by this wicked business.

Our fathers fought to establish in this great country, with its present vast population, and its wide reaches of prairie and savannah, its grand mountains, its mighty rivers, and its large inland seas, the blessings of free institutions. But have we had no responsibility and no duty in the line of vigilance and effort to *preserve* the invaluable boon bequeathed? Can there be a reasonable doubt that our liberties would long since have gone down in anarchy or despotism had there not been constant attention to the diffusion of intelligence and a just appreciation of the inestimable value of our institutions? So, if the suppression of the slave-trade on the Coast of Liberia was wise, benevolent, and deserving, it is equally the part of wisdom and a just benevolence to preserve the blessing so hardly won, and to prevent, in all parts of Africa, the recurrence of a traffic which has done so much to dishonor God and to destroy man.

3. The Colonization Society is deserving the confidence and support of all philanthropists and Christians, because it places before the colored people a noble and important object.

In a recent lecture on the Future of the African Race, Wendell Phillips has eloquently stated that, whatever that race may have been at an early period, they have not in modern times lifted themselves into greatness and renown by any grand, heroic achievement; that it is vain for them to *claim* equal consideration with others until they prove themselves to deserve it by doing something which shall lift them to a level with the highest and the greatest; that they must achieve something in art, or science, or discovery, or commerce, or

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government, which will make the race historic and give to it immortality. It is not denied that the freedmen have an opportunity in this country to make for themselves an honorable name and a worthy record. And none will more rejoice at their success than will myself. Already they have won admiration by their efforts at self-improvement and education; by their industry, order, and thrift; by examples among themselves of eminent positions honorably reached and worthily maintained. All this is well. Let the good work go on. But all must admit that the competition is a sharp one, that the struggle is unequal, and that they suffer under many disadvantages.

This Society has placed before the race the opportunity, the occasion, the theater, and the motive for a grand achievement: an achievement which, for its beauty and moral grandeur, will take rank with the greatest and the noblest in past ages. The *opportunity* is given them by sending them, free of cost, to Liberia, and by giving them the means of subsistence for six months after their arrival; in a country where nature is so kindly, the soil so prolific, the climate so congenial, that a subsistence can be won almost without effort, leaving the energies of mind and body free to expend themselves in other objects than the mere gaining of bread. The Society places them in the midst of the country to be redeemed by their agency, and in favorable circumstances to pursue this high endeavor. The *occasion* is furnished by entrusting them in that new country, and with new surroundings, with the responsibilities of building up, maintaining, and developing in the presence of the whole world, and especially of the one hundred and fifty millions of Africans, a free, Christian Government. The *theater* is given; there is not only the soil of Liberia, with its area of fifty or sixty thousand square miles, and its population of six hundred thousand; but there is also capability of indefinite expansion interiorward. They may have there really the range of the whole Continent of barbarism to traverse and to redeem. And it is their's, upon this theater, to

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make themselves felt as a mighty power of reformation and regeneration; a civilizing and restoring power. The *motive* is certainly most exalted and grand. It is well fitted to rouse the energies and fire the ambition of the most stolid and phlegmatic.

Others, with far less opportunity, with greatly inferior occasions, with a more contracted theater, and with motives of much less magnitude, have wrought wonders, and have placed themselves on high, as among earth's greatest heroes.

Columbus, after going from place to place, and from court to court, and begging for assistance, at length, through the patronage of Isabella, found his opportunity and occasion. The result was, he discovered a new world, and at once made himself immortal.

When Cortez was furnished by the Governor General of Cuba with an opportunity and an occasion, he conquered the Aztecs. He planted the Cross on the ruins of their altars. He supplanted by Christianity their sanguinary system, superseding a religion that caused to flow the blood of eighty-five thousand annual human victims. Cortez made himself historic.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, a pure African, was lifting himself to greatness when leading the Haytiens to throw off the yoke of slavery and assert their manhood. But for the perfidy of Napoleon and his minions, he would have grandly succeeded. His character is a very fine one. It shows of what the race are capable.

This Society has given to the colored people of the United States the fitting opportunity to achieve greatness. Let them show themselves equal to it, not, indeed, by discovering a new Continent, as Columbus did, but by uplifting an old one from darkness to light; from superstition, and bondage, and deepest degradation; from cannibalism and the most utter savagism to the most complete disenthralment and elevation, and to the most beautiful type of Christian civilization; not by conquering with fire and sword and rapine, as Cortez

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did the Aztecs, but by subjecting one hundred and fifty millions of degraded, unhappy, sensual beings, through purely moral agencies, to the sway of reason, virtue, and religion.

Now, I maintain that the Colonization Society, in thus putting the colored people in the way of doing something grand and historic for themselves, are evincing a wise and useful philanthropy. A true and wise beneficence does not display itself by rendering aid in such a way as to make the recipients more and more dependent and helpless; but by putting them in a position where they may provide for themselves, and where every effort they make will render them less and less dependent, until, in time, they can themselves become helpers of the needy. He is not a wise benefactor who undertakes to do my thinking for me, and to perform for me what I can do for myself; but he is wisely benevolent who not only leaves me free to act and think for myself, but whose beneficence compels me to think and act for myself. And this the Colonization Society has done, by placing the colored people where their healthy action for themselves will not only promote their own welfare, but will render them greatly serviceable to others. To my judgment, this is one of the crowning glories of this Society.

4. The Colonization Society has created a new Christian nationality on the Western Coast of Africa. The Republic of Liberia extends from the fourth to the seventh degree of north latitude, with a coast line of about six hundred miles, and an indefinite interior extension. Its area may be estimated at, say fifty thousand or sixty thousand square miles. Its population is about six hundred thousand.

This new nation, the birth of a day, is as yet but a babe. Yet it is stronger and larger than Massachusetts or Virginia was at a like age. Liberia is not as yet very robust and plethoric, but it is comely. It displays not the insignia of great pomp nor state; it does not yet give evidence of much wealth nor development, yet is it a goodly child, giving promise of a powerful maturity. It may be a very Hercules to carry

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civilization and Christianity to that fountain between the pillars of Hercules whence flows the Nile. Considered as an erection, its foundations are well laid in right, in virtue, in the name of God and humanity; with a broad, ample base, with a representative Government, with well defined laws, with well-ordered society, having recognition by the leading powers of the world. It has a small but growing commerce, amounting annually to hundreds of thousands of dollars. Cargoes of rice, palm-oil, indigo, cam-wood, and coffee, the products of that country, are carried in Liberian ships, flying the Liberian flag, to the great marts of the world, our own included.

In this new nationality schools are established. A free press is found. And churches, active and flourishing, are there. The Baptists have a large missionary interest in that country. The Presbyterian Board reports, in their mission work in Liberia, eight preachers and five teachers, all colored but one. There is a diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with a resident bishop, five commodious school-houses, twenty-five teachers and catechists, sixteen of whom are natives, five hundred and thirty-nine day scholars, seven hundred and sixty-nine Sunday scholars, ten colored ministers, of whom seven are natives, and six candidates for orders. An Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with thirty travelling ministers and as many local preachers, and a resident bishop, with four districts and two thousand members, links the Methodists of Liberia with those of America.

There are kindly hearts in Liberia, beating high with courage and Christian sympathy, and with earnest purpose to do something worthy for God and for man; something worthy of themselves, on behalf of a land that has long been the scene of robbery, outrage, and spoliation.

This single monument of the work of this Society for fifty-seven years, is a lasting evidence of its wise beneficence. A witness or two as to the character and value of the work will be in place. Professor Blyden, a pure African, for twenty-years a resident and citizen of Liberia, says: "We can only re-

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peat, with undiminished earnestness the wish we have frequently expressed elsewhere, *that the eyes of the blacks may be opened to discern their true mission and destiny ; that, making their escape from the house of bondage, they may betake themselves to their ancestral home, and assist in constructing an African empire.*"

A young man of unusual energy and intelligence, who went from Georgia, and who had been in Liberia only about a year, says: "Liberia is a good country. It needs population, and with population, intelligence, wealth, and Christianity. With these it would be second to no country on the globe. As far as I am concerned, it suits me. Of course, there are no large and fine cities, with every convenience, as in the United States; no reasonable person would expect to see such; but you will be in a free country, where you will breathe a free air, with no one to make you afraid, which is not the case in America."

Our present Minister Resident and Consul General, Hon. J. Milton Turner, says: "Literature, climate, products, soil, and numerous peculiarities, both of the people and the country, conspire to evidence that God manifestly not only intends the evangelization of Africa to be effected contemporaneous with her civilization, but *that the men of these tropics must elevate the men of these tropics.*"

This African nationality is a hopeful sign. It stands out in bold relief against a background of darkness, degradation, and confusion, and it gives good promise of something great and important in God's purpose for the welfare and redemption of a long-neglected people.

5. The Colonization Society deserves well, because it proposes to pay, in some small degree, a part of that incalculable debt which this country owes to Africa for three centuries of robbery and spoliation. It is true that in this work of despoiling Africa, America has had partners. France, and Spain, and Portugal, and Great Britain, and the Netherlands have divided with us the guilt of this traffic, and with some of them it is larger than ours. But this confederation does not lessen

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our responsibility in the matter; it does not abate our obligation to do what we may towards making restitution for our share in this great injustice and wrong. We cannot doubt that God reckons for the black man as really as for others, and that He will hold us accountable for these our sins. We need not wait, and we ought not to wait, until payment is wrung from us by some great national calamity. It may be so extorted, if we show a disposition to repudiate; but if we hasten to recognize the debt, and show ourselves reasonably ready to pay the claim, we may well suppose that God will smile upon the endeavor; that He will accept the intention, if we show it to be an honest intention; and that He will greatly encourage and bless us in our work. Clearly, His favor has been upon this movement. He who holds the winds and the waves in the hollow of His hand has never suffered a single life of the fifteen thousand and forty-eight emigrants sent to Liberia by your Society to be lost by shipwreck. He who rules among nations as among men defended the infant colony of Liberia as by a miracle against hundreds, perhaps thousands, of assailants to a handful of defenders. He has watched over this movement. He has disposed the hearts of its founders and patrons to adhere to their one work. He has established the work of our hands upon us.

It will not do to attempt to evade this obligation by saying that our fathers made the debt, and therefore we are exempted from the obligation to pay it. It is quite true that our British ancestors began the business of robbing Africa of her children; and Hawkins and Drake and "good Queen Bess" shared largely in it; but we also shared in the spoils. We inherited their doings. We have the power to make restitution, and therefore the responsibility is upon us. The claims of justice and duty enforce the work of this Society. Many objects appeal directly to the benevolence and charity of men. This is true of orphans, the sick, and the poor; and, considered from a Christian stand-point, it is true of the entire heathen world. But in this cause philanthropy,

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benevolence, and Christian sympathy are enforced by the sheerest justice. God says to us, restore again that which you have taken. He is able to enforce this claim. Our ideas of His justice compel the conclusion that He will enforce it if resisted. The Saviour says, and it is alike the dictate of reason and religion, "Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him, lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing." Some urge that we make restitution by freeing the slaves and treating them well here; but this will not make reparation to Africa for the wrongs done her. It would appear, sir, that this Society is created by Providence to enable us to make the restitution in kind to Africa. Hence, it seems to me the American people cannot too generally rally around this Society; that it would not be doing too much if, moved by a general conviction on this subject, the Congress of the United States should make an annual appropriation to defray the expenses of such colored people as desire to go to Liberia, and if every State Legislature should join in the same purpose.

6. Finally, sir, the claims of this Society are urged in view of the promise which the future unfolds.

This Liberian Republic shows a successful means by which Africa may be redeemed; not only civilized, but evangelized. For two thousand years "Ethiopia has stretched out the hand to God." Missionary zeal has taken hold of fields in all other parts of the world: in China, Japan, India, Australia, the South Sea and Society Islands, and has changed their vast deserts into gardens of holiness and beauty; but the wants and the woes of poor bleeding Africa have been comparatively unheeded. Her cries have been seemingly unheard. No man cared for those souls. Not that there have been no sympathy, no tears, no prayers, no effort for Africa. But these

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have been expended on a comparatively small scale, and with little apparent effect. Missionary labor, which has produced such great results in other regions, has been relatively fruitless here, as well as small in amount. So much and so long has this been the case, that it has almost seemed as though Ethiopia stretched out the hand to God in vain. Is it not a remarkable fact that less than one-tenth of all the missionary and philanthropic beneficence of this country goes to Africa, a Continent that embraces one-fifth part of the land surface of the globe, and one-eighth part of its population? Europe leads us in this work for Africa. She began before us, and she still holds precedence. Doubtless one reason for our small investment in Christian missions in Africa is that white missionaries cannot live there. Perhaps another reason may be found in the remarkable fact that no missionary labor in Africa crystallizes into permanent forms of beauty and usefulness and blessing, except where such labor is complemented by the presence of civil government. I do not undertake to account for the fact, yet a fact it is, nevertheless. Point me out a single mission in Africa where this is not the case. But now this Society has demonstrated that Africa can be redeemed, and has displayed the process before our eyes. This Society has established a Pharos on the confines of this vast empire of thick darkness, and in its light the cross is upreared, and around that cross I see the African tribes, including, perhaps, the descendants of the Kings of Sheba and of Seba come bending, to offer the gifts of their gratitude and praise. As they bend there I see them transformed in the spirit of their minds, in the improvement of their gross manners, in the abandonment of their Fetish rites and their revolting orgies. The history of this Republic for twenty-six years, in showing what has been done on a small scale and in a short time, shows what may be done on a grandly larger scale, in a longer time. I cannot avoid becoming enthusiastic when I view the subject from this standpoint. I see the long-oppressed sons and daughters of Africa rising

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in art, excelling in science, extending their fame afar, making for the black race an historic record as proud as the proudest. I see the mysteries of the Devil Bush and the bloody rites and sanguinary cruelties of obeahism and myalism give place to the mild and pure spirit and principles of Christianity. I see elevation take the place of the most abject depression, light dispersing the dense darkness that, like a thousand midnights, has hung over that land; knowledge dispelling ignorance; refinement succeeding coarse vulgarity; salvation, instead of, and in spite of, sin and death and hell.

Yes, these results are coming. I see the prophecy and the pledge of their approach in the history of your Society. Whatever others may think or may say of this movement, I cannot but think that in the coming ages of time, and through the endless cycles of eternity, this Society and its work shall stand out as one of the grandest manifestations of the nineteenth century. Prejudice may delay the consummation which I have sketched, but it cannot prevent it. Croakers may predict the contrary, but they will be found false prophets of evil. It will come, in spite of croakers, and prejudice, and hesitation, and indifference, and hostility! It will come like the morning light, growing in volume, in warmth, and in power, until its effulgence shall gild the Kong mountains and the Mountains of the Moon; be reflected from the bosoms of Nyanza and Unyanyembe; glisten in the golden sands of the rivers, and from the facets of her million diamonds. It will come like the dew, so profusely and so graciously as almost to make Sahara blossom as the rose. And when that grand consummation shall come, civilization and commerce shall keep pace with the moral growth; and the Nile to its sources, and the Niger and the Zambezi, shall be covered with full-freighted steamers. The land shall be traversed by railroads, and the mountains shall echo and re-echo with the shriek of the iron horse, and shall tremble with the rumble of the ponderous trains.

The honor and the obligation of sharing an achievement so

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grand is laid at our doors. It is committed to our hands. Let us not despise it, refuse it, neglect it. Let us not be inattentive concerning it. The time is coming when the names of Livingstone, and Moffat, and Shaw, and the founders and patrons of this Society, who have consecrated time and money to the welfare and uplifting of Africa, shall shine as among the greatest benefactors of mankind.

MINUTES

OF THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 20, 1874.*

The Board of Directors of THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY met this day at 12 o'clock M., in their Rooms in the Colonization Building, Washington, D. C.

The President of the Society, Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, took the Chair; and prayer was offered by the Rev. John Maclean, D. D., LL. D., of Princeton, N. J.

Mr. William Coppinger was appointed Secretary of the Board.

The minutes of the last meeting, January 21 and 22, 1873, were read.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that during the past year the Rev. George W. Samson, D. D., of New York, had been constituted, by friends of the cause, a Director for Life of the Society.

On motion of Dr. Lindsly, it was

Resolved, That the Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, D. D., District Secretary of the Society for the country west of the Alleghanies and south of the Potomac, be invited to sit with the Board as a Corresponding Member.

Mr. Merwin, Hon. Mr. Parker, and Dr. Lyon were appointed a Committee on Credentials, who reported the following named Delegates as appointed by Auxiliary Societies, and also the Directors for Life and members of the Executive Committee in attendance, as follows:

Delegates appointed by Auxiliary Societies.

Delegates Appointed by Auxiliary Societies for 1874.

VERMONT COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Hon. Charles W. Willard,* Hon. Frederick Woodbridge,* Rev. John K. Converse.

CONNECTICUT COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Rev. Daniel W. Lathrop, D. D.* Henry A. Warner, Esq..

MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Hon. Isaac Davis,* Hon. G. Washington Warren,* Henry Lyon, M. D., Rev. John W. Chickering, D. D.

NEW YORK COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Rev. Benj. I. Haight, D. D., LL. D.,* Rev. S. Ireneus Prime, D. D.,* Rev. Henry C. Potter, D. D.,* Rev. George W. Samson, D. D., Rev. Wm. F. Morgan, D. D.,* Rev. Samuel D. Alexander, D. D.,* Rev. John N. McLeod, D. D.,* Rev. T. Ralston Smith, D. D.,* Rev. David Cole, D. D.,* Almon Merwin, Esq., Smith Sheldon, Esq.,* Theodore L. Mason, M. D.,* Z. Stiles Ely, Esq., Henry Day, Esq.,* William Dennistoun, Esq.,* Henry L. Young, Esq.,* William C. Foote, Esq., Stephen M. Buckingham, Esq., Alfred L. Taylor, Esq.,* Rev. G. Henry Mandeville, D. D.*

NEW JERSEY COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Rev. W. J. R. Taylor, D. D.

PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—Rev. Samuel E. Appleton.

LIFE DIRECTORS PRESENT.—Rev. John B. Pinney, LL. D., Rev. John Maclean, D. D., LL. D., Rev. John Orcutt, D. D., Joseph Henry, LL. D., Charles H. Nichols, M. D., Rev. George W. Samson, D. D.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE PRESENT.—Harvey Lindely, M. D., Joseph H. Bradley, Esq., William Gunton, Esq., Hon. Peter Parker, Hon. John B. Kerr, James C. Welling, LL. D.

The Corresponding Secretary presented and read the Fifty-seventh Annual Report of the Society.

Whereupon, on motion, it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report be accepted and referred to a Committee of three to select portions to be read at the anniversary meeting to be held this evening.

Rev. Mr. Appleton, President Welling, and Mr. Ely were appointed the Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary presented and read the Annual Statement of the Executive Committee.

* Not in attendance.

Treasurer's Report—Standing Committees.

The Treasurer presented and read his Report of receipts and disbursements during the year 1873.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Statement of the Executive Committee and the Treasurer's Report, with the accompanying papers, be accepted; and that so much of them and of the Annual Report as relates to Foreign Relations, Finances, Auxiliary Societies, Agencies, Accounts, Emigration, and Education, be referred to the several Standing Committees in charge of these subjects respectively.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare a minute expressive of the loss sustained by the Board in the death of the Rev. William McLain, D. D., late Financial Secretary and Treasurer of the Society.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, Rev. Mr. Appleton, and Rev. Dr. Samson were appointed the Committee.

The Chair appointed the Standing Committees, as follows:

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.—Rev. John Maclean, D. D. LL. D., Hon. Peter Parker, Charles H. Nichols, M. D.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.—William Gunton, Esq., Stephen M. Buckingham, Esq., Z. Stiles Ely, Esq.

COMMITTEE ON AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.—Rev. John Orcutt, D. D., Rev. John K. Converse, Hon. John B. Kerr.

COMMITTEE ON AGENCIES.—Rev. Samuel E. Appleton, Harvey Lindsly, M. D. William C. Foote, Esq.

COMMITTEE ON ACCOUNTS.—Almon Merwin, Esq., Rev. John W. Chickering, D. D., Joseph Henry, LL. D.

COMMITTEE ON EMIGRATION.—Henry Lyon, M. D., Joseph H. Bradley, Esq., James C. Welling, LL. D.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.—Rev. George W. Samson, D. D., Rev. John B. Pinney, LL. D., Henry A. Warner, Esq.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to nominate the Secretaries and Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

The Rev. Mr. Appleton, Rev. Dr. Chickering, and Mr. Ely were appointed the Committee.

Report of Committee on Accounts.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Board do now adjourn until 10 o'clock to morrow morning.

COLONIZATION BUILDING, *January 21, 1874.*

The Board of Directors met this morning pursuant to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

The Divine blessing was invoked by the Rev. Samuel E. Appleton, of Philadelphia.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Letters excusing themselves from attendance at this meeting were stated to have been received from Directors Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, D. D., LL. D., Rev. William H. Steele, D. D., Daniel Price, Esq., and Rev. Henry C. Potter D. D. ; and from Delegates Hon. Isaac Davis, Rev. Daniel W. Lathrop, D. D., Rev. Samuel D. Alexander, D. D., Rev. T. Ralston Smith, D. D., Alfred L. Taylor, Esq., Theodore L. Mason, M. D., and Henry L. Young, Esq.

Mr. Merwin, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Accounts, presented the following Report ; which was, on motion, accepted and approved :

The Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the American Colonization Society for the past year, have performed the duty assigned them, and take pleasure in stating that the books are accurately and neatly kept ; and that each item has a voucher for the amount charged. They also highly commend the practice of the Executive Committee in examining and endorsing their approval on each bill.

President Welling, from the Committee on Emigration, presented the following Report ; which was, on motion, accepted and approved, and the accompanying resolution referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act as circumstances may require :

Report of Committee on Emigration.

The Committee to whom was referred so much of the Annual Report as relates to the subject of emigration, beg leave respectfully to submit the following report:

Emigration, in its processes and in its results, constitutes the very core of our activity as a Society. It is the channel through which, under God, we propose to transmit to Africa the blessings of Christianity, of civilization, and of liberty regulated by law. It is through this channel that a colony has been successfully planted on the shores of Africa by the fathers and founders of the American Colonization Society. It is through this channel that their successors have held it a privilege and duty, during each successive year of the Society's existence, to send an annual increment of population to swell the numbers and strengthen the resources of that infant nationality, which bears in its bosom, as we fervently hope, the germs of Africa's regeneration.

In the light of this simple statement your Committee submit that the friends and patrons of this philanthropic enterprise cannot fail to see the importance of keeping this channel clear from all obstructions, whether they may result from the temporary misconceptions and passions of men, or from our own faint-heartedness. As our experience abundantly proves that we have among us fellow-citizens of African descent who would fain return to their ancestral land, it is the dictate equally of political consistency and of generosity to facilitate for them the exodus which they desire to make. To obstruct them in the exercise of this right, or to leave impediments in the way which we can remove, is practically to remand them to the condition of serfs tied to the soil.

As the Society exists to lend a helping hand to the voluntary emigrants who, in offering themselves as such, evince a desire to change their nationality, it follows that, in justice to them, and in a decent respect for that right of expatriation, which, as a nation, the United States have vindicated alike by their arms and their diplomacy, we cannot rightfully withhold our aid as long as worthy and deserving emigrants shall require it at our hands. As every accession made to the population of Liberia, under the auspices of our Society, adds fresh strength to those Christianizing and civilizing forces which we desire to see embodied in religious and civil institutions, which, with God's blessing, shall be self-sustaining and self-propagating by the impetus they may have gained, it follows that until this end shall be reached our Society cannot pause in the career appointed to it by Divine Providence. When the tides of migration between America and Africa shall be as natural in their ebb and flow as they now are between Europe and America, or when the institutes of Christianity and civilization shall be so deeply planted in the soil of Africa as to be mutual auxiliaries, without needing support or

Report of Committee on Nominations.

exemplification from the transplanted products of our soil, the time will have come for our Society to cease from its labors, but not till then.

Your Committee, therefore, advise that during the coming year there should be no departure from that established policy of the Society which looks to the annual settlement in Liberia of as large a body of new immigrants as the funds of the Society may enable it to send.

As our Society, by the organized emigration which it patronizes, is a Missionary Society of the largest possible proportions which it can enter into the heart of man to conceive, sending as we do to Africa not only the Gospel and the individual preacher of Christian truth, but also the Christian church, fully equipped for evangelization; the Christian home, as its divinely appointed nursery; the school-house and the college, as the conditions of its intelligent propagation; and all the arts of civilization as its ornament and exterior defence, your Committee indulge the hope that these peculiar features of our activity may secure for the operations of our Society a larger share than they have hitherto enjoyed in the sympathy and contributions of Christian churches throughout the land. In this view the Committee submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Society be instructed as far as possible to promote its established policy by sending new recruits to the Liberian Republic; and that it take special measures to commend the relations of organized emigration to the sympathies, not only of the race more immediately interested, but also of Christian men throughout the whole land.

Rev. Mr. Appleton, Chairman of the Committee on Nomination of Secretaries and the Executive Committee, presented a Report; which was considered, and, on motion, it was

Resolved, That two Secretaries be appointed, to be called the General Secretary, and the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, whose respective duties shall be prescribed by the Executive Committee; and that all action hitherto of this Board inconsistent herewith be and the same is hereby repealed.

The following nominations were made, viz:

GENERAL SECRETARY.—Rev. John Orcutt, D. D.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY AND TREASURER.—Mr. William Coppinger.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—Harvey Lindaly, M. D., Joseph H. Bradley, Esq., William Gunton, Esq., Hon. Peter Parker, Hon. John B. Kerr, Charles H. Nichols, M. D., James C. Welling, LL. D.

Report of Committee on Education.

Whereupon, on motion, it was

Resolved, That the report be accepted and approved, and that the Board elect the persons nominated by the Committee.

Rev. Dr. Samson, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Education, presented the following Report; which was, on motion, accepted and approved, and the accompanying resolution was adopted :

Your Committee on Education respectfully say that the semi-annual reports to June 30, 1873, of the three schools in Liberia supported by this Society from the income of the Graham legacy, show them to have had an average attendance of eighty-six scholars, who are making good progress in their various studies.

The letters sent to Liberia by the Corresponding Secretary, under the action of the Board at the last meeting, elicited replies with valuable information and details; but the late report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society gives a more elaborate account, which shows that all the missions have schools of their respective denominations. In all there are fifty-two schools, with thirteen hundred and twenty-three scholars, connected with the various missionary Boards in Liberia. But these missions are wholly independent of each other, each has its own system, and there is no one system of common schools for the whole Republic, except that in the statute-book, which is not in operation.

President Roberts, in his last annual message, says : " In regard to the subject of general education in Liberia, I may only remark, that it is still of paramount importance. And it is a matter of deep regret that, even with the generous assistance of Missionary Societies in the United States, we are not able to supply the increasing demands for educational facilities in many of our scattered Americo-Liberian settlements. No one can doubt that both the Church and the State are now suffering for the want of additional intelligence to aid in advancing the civil and religious institutions of the country."

The Liberia College, at Monrovia, last February, received a generous donation of \$20,000 from the Hon. Albert Fearing, which greatly aids it.

Considering the vast importance of the subject of education, your Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to consider the expediency of employing, either directly or indirectly, or in conjunction with the Liberian Government, a Commissioner on Education, whose business it shall be to endeavor to promote the educational facilities of Liberia by efforts both in this country and in Africa.

Report of Committee on Auxiliary Societies.

The appointed hour, 12 o'clock M., having arrived for the meeting of the Society, the Board took a recess, and after a brief session of the Society, it resumed its duties.

Mr. Buckingham, from the Standing Committee on Finance, presented a Report; which was, on motion, accepted and approved.

Rev. Mr. Appleton, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Agencies, presented the following Report; which was, on motion, accepted and approved, and the accompanying resolution was adopted:

The Committee on Agencies make no extended report, but respectfully offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend the Executive Committee to employ whatever instrumentalities they may judge wisest to arouse the public mind in behalf of the work and claims of our Society, and to obtain more enlarged means of carrying it on.

Rev. Dr. Orcutt, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Auxiliary Societies, presented the following Report; which was, on motion, accepted and approved:

The Committee on Auxiliary Societies respectfully report that they stand essentially the same as for several years past. In some of the States these Societies exist with sufficient life to enable them to hold their annual meetings, and to render valuable services in obtaining funds for the prosecution of our work. And in several of the States where they were formerly alive, they are practically dead. In the judgment of your Committee, efforts should be made to infuse fresh life into all such organizations, and to form new auxiliaries wherever there is reasonable hope they will be sustained and the cause thereby promoted.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Foreign Relations, reported verbally that, in their judgment, there was no business in the papers referred to them calling for action at this time.

On motion of Mr. Merwin, it was

Resolved, That this Board tenders its cordial thanks to our worthy Presi-

Minutes on the Death of Rev. Dr. McLain.

dent, the Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, for all that he has done in the past for the American Colonization Society; and that we have entire confidence in him for all that he may be able to do in the future.

President Latrobe, Chairman of the Committee appointed January 22, 1873, to procure by subscription a portrait or a bust of the late Rev. R. R. Gurley, or a memorial tablet to be placed in the rooms of the Society, reported verbally the progress made; and the Committee was continued.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, Chairman of the Committee to prepare a minute touching the death of the Rev. Dr. McLain, presented the following Report; which was, on motion, accepted and approved, and the accompanying resolution was adopted:

The Committee to prepare a minute expressive of the feelings of the Board in reference to the decease of the Rev. William McLain, D. D., the late Financial Secretary and Treasurer of the American Colonization Society, and to indicate the views of the Board with respect to his long continued and most valuable services, beg leave to recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Board adopts as their own the just and most appropriate resolutions of the Executive Committee, passed at their special meeting on the 14th of February, 1873, in consequence of the then recent death of our departed friend, who for thirty-two years had devoted himself most faithfully and efficiently to his duties as an officer of this institution, and to the up-building of the Republic of Liberia; and the Board are confident that it would be no easy matter to overestimate the value of his services to the cause of African Colonization. May the success of his labors, and in the hope that our beloved friend has departed this life to enter into the rest that remaineth for the people of God, prompt all the friends of the cause of African Colonization to increased efforts in this most important work.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report of the Society be referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That the cordial thanks of the Board be tendered to our President, for the very able and dignified manner in which he has presided on the present occasion.

Adjournment.

Resolved, That our thanks are expressed to the Secretary, for his kind and attentive services at this meeting.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That when the Board adjourns, it adjourns to meet in these rooms on the third Tuesday in January, 1875, at 12 o'clock M.

The Board united in prayer, led by the Rev. Mr. Converse, and then adjourned.

WILLIAM COPPINGER, *Secretary.*

LETTERS FROM DISTINGUISHED MEN.

The next best thing to an address from each of the following named gentlemen were the letters which they sent in response to invitations from the Committee to make arrangements for the late Anniversary meeting of the Society :—

FROM REV. DR. HUMPHREY.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *November, 21, 1873.*

TO HON. PETER PARKER and WILLIAM COPPINGER, Esq :

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 18th instant is at hand. I am sorry to say that I cannot go to Washington in January, my engagements here and elsewhere forbidding. My visit to the "Colonization Rooms" last winter gave me renewed confidence in the wisdom of the plans adopted by the Society, and in the spirit with which they are executed. I feel more inclined to go a second time than I did to go the first time. But I must decline the service now.

Very truly yours,

E. P. HUMPHREY.

FROM BISHOP STEVENS.

PHILADELPHIA, *December 11, 1873.*

HON. PETER PARKER and WILLIAM COPPINGER, Esq., Committee:

GENTLEMEN: Absence from the city has prevented my replying earlier to your kind invitation to deliver an address at the ensuing Anniversary of the American Colonization Society.

I have tried to bring myself to accept it, but stern duty forbids, and I must reluctantly decline. I feel the deepest interest in the cause, which ought to take hold of the hearts of Christians and statesmen, as one of the great missionary and civilizing agencies of the world; but I shall not be able, consistent with paramount duties, to plead for so admirable a Society next month.

The desire to gratify two such excellent friends as yourselves was a strong motive urging me to go to Washington, as it would be peculiarly pleasant to meet you both again and renew the pleasant associations of the past.

With sincere regards to each of you, I remain, gentlemen, very truly,
yours,

WILLIAM BACON STEVENS.

Letter from Hon. Reverdy Johnson.

FROM HON. REVERDY JOHNSON.

BALTIMORE, December 26, 1873.

Messrs. PETER PARKER and WILLIAM COPPINGER, Committee, &c., Washington:

GENTLEMEN: I would gladly comply with the request you make of me if I could; but an engagement which I am forced to fulfill will take me to Philadelphia on the evening of the 20th of the coming month. To have had such an opportunity as you tender me to do whatever I might be able to promote the great moral, political, and Christian ends which your Association is seeking to attain, would be a source of much gratification to me. To spread civilization and Christianity through benighted Africa is a work which must challenge the approval of mankind, whilst to our colored citizens, now, thank God, unshackled by slavery, to establish for themselves a home in which they will be able to exhibit the ability with which nature may have endowed them, without the obstacles of prejudice which caste or color may create, would be to them and to the world an achievement of incalculable value.

Sincerely regretting that I am obliged to decline the request with which you have honored me, and with thanks for the honor, I remain, with much regard, your obedient servant,

REVERDY JOHNSON.